1-1-1975

A psycho-historical analysis of elderly Afro-Americans : an exploratory study of racial pride.

Harold Thomas Washington
University of Massachusetts Amherst

A PSYCHO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF ELDERLY AFRO-AMERICANS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF RACIAL PRIDE

A Dissertation Presented

By

HAROLD THOMAS WASHINGTON II

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 1975

Department of Psychology

A PSYCHO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF ELDERLY AFRO-AMERICANS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF RACIAL PRIDE

A Dissertation

By

HAROLD THOMAS WASHINGTON II

Approved as to style and content by:

Castellano B. Turner
Castellano B. Turner, Chairperson

Bernadette Nelson-Shapiro
Bernadette Nelson-Shapiro, Member

David M. Todd
David M. Todd, Member

Barbara P. Turner
Barbara P. Turner, Member

Jerome L. Myers
Jerome Myers, Department Chairman
Psychology Department

August 1975

ABSTRACT

A Psycho-Historical Analysis of Elderly Afro-Americans:

An Exploratory Study of Racial Pride

(August 1975)

Harold Thomas Washington II, B.A., Dillard University
M.S.Ed., City College of New York
Ph.D., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Professor Castellano B. Turner

This is a study of racial pride across four historical periods based on retrospective interviews with elderly Afro-Americans. The four major Afro-American historical periods spanning from the 1890's to the present included: segregation, integration, Black power, and Black nationalism. Three measures of racial identification were developed: racial pride scale, attitudes toward Black leadership scale, and the leadership awareness index.

These scales were included in an interview which was conducted with sixty-four people (ranging in age from sixty-five to eighty-four), evenly balanced by sex, social class (SES) negroidness and geographical region (north/south).

The main hypothesis reflecting significant changes in racial pride as a function of time (historical phases) was supported ($F = 4.217$, $p < .01$). Racial pride was the lowest during the segregation period and reached its peak during the integration period. The Southern sample exhibited higher racial pride than the Northern sample ($F = 7.009$, $p < .01$).

Sex, SES, and negroidness were not related to the racial pride measure.

The hypothesis that changes in attitudes toward Black leadership were related to historical events was also supported. Attitudes were most favorable during the integration period and least favorable during the Black power period. The high SES group had significantly more positive attitudes ($F = 6.62$, $p < .001$), and men had more positive attitudes than women. Geographical regions and negroidness were not related to attitudes toward Black leadership.

The general hypothesis reflecting significant differences in leadership awareness across the four historical periods was supported. The highest assessment of leadership awareness was made during the integration phase and the lowest assessment was made during the Black power period. People from the higher SES group were significantly more aware of Black leaders than people from the lower SES group in both the integration period ($t = 3.06$, $p < .01$) and in the Black power period ($t = 3.51$, $p < .01$). The Southern sample was significantly more aware of Black leadership than the Northern sample ($t = 4.13$, $p < .001$).

The findings are discussed in terms of their implication of the development of positive racial identification among elderly Afro-Americans.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I most gratefully acknowledge the continuous guidance and encouragement provided by Dr. Castellano B. Turner. He has not only been the most important person to me during the course of this study but he has been my mentor since my first year as a graduate student. Very special acknowledgement is extended to Dr. David M. Todd who has constructively criticized all of my major works--all two of them. I am very thankful for his guidance in completing the final draft. Acknowledgements are also due to Dr. Barbara F. Turner, who was available when I needed her the most and to Dr. Bernadette Nelson-Shapiro and Dr. Johnetta B. Cole for their constructive criticisms during the initial phase of the study.

I would also like to express my thanks to the subjects without whose participation this study would not have been possible. I also express my deepest sympathy to the families of subjects who died before this study was completed.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife for her help and support.

TO NANA

AND

MY FATHER

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Table

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to explore, through biographical data, the psychological impact of historical events and four exploratory demographic variables (sex, social class standing (SES), negroidness and geographical region) on racial pride,[1] sttitudes toward Black leadership and leadership awareness. The study covered four major Afro-American historical phases from the 1890's to the present: segregation, integration (both educational and public), Black power and Black nationalist movements. Elderly Afro-Americans were people, from ages sixty-five and above, who were descendents of Africans brought to the United States during the slave trade.

Overview of Historical Phases

Since the emancipation of the slaves, life for Afro-Americans has been characterized by a unique set of social and emotional changes. Perhaps the most significant of these is attributable to the emotional and legal impact of the civil rights movement. For most, the movement initiated increased racial pride, dignity and an opportunity to exercise

---

[1]Racial pride is specifically defined by the author as those positive feelings (e.g., dignity, self-respect and satisfaction) associated with the self and other Black people.

their once denied legal rights. For civil rights activists, the movement represented a victory over the slow destructive effects of racism and discrimination. With the concomitant increase in self-esteem, Afro-Americans were also able to explore the untapped potential in themselves and others. The illusion of freedom as expressed immediately after the Emancipation Proclamation and the civil rights movement, however, was relatively short-lived. The result in both instances was the recognition on the part of Afro-Americans that they were only quasi-free. Afro-Americans were faced with two realities: first, that true freedom is not the function of legal maneuvers and secondly, it is gained only by a constant struggle for the truth of one's self, one's heritage and against the racist element that continually pressures one's existence. Frederick Douglas (1968) in one of his letters writes "we must do this [struggle] by labor, by suffering, by sacrificing and if needs be, by our lives and the lives of others."

Jim Crow, de facto segregation and discrimination. Both Northern and Southern Afro-Americans experienced a quasi-free existence after reconstruction, the psychological response to the paradoxical state of being a freed slave was often trauma. That is, as institutional slavery was replaced by Jim Crow and de facto segregation, the Afro-American experienced a unique kind of emotional stress. Despite the rights guaranteed by the Emancipation Proclamation and the

constitution, racial hatred, genocidal practices (Damer, 1972) and lack of support from the federal administration made many freed people powerless to determine their own destinies. This not only destroyed any semblance of progress gained after slavery, but it reinforced the notion of black inferiority (Aptheker, 1973; Melzer, 1965).

Although general progress was slow, there was consistent individual and group resistance to second class citizenship. During this period (1865 to 1929) Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, W. E. B. DuBois and A. Phillip Randolph were in the forefront of what might be called the early civil rights movement. The Niagara Movement, mother of the NAACP; the Universal Negro Improvement Association; Garveyism, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters were organizations with a huge enrollment of Afro-Americans, who made strides toward first class citizenship. The "do for self" philosophy of Booker T. Washington, the "Talented Tenth" perspective of W. E. B. DuBois, and the move toward black pride fostered by the authors of the Harlem Renaissance, i.e. Claude McKay, Sterling Brown, Lanston Hughes, Countee Cullen and Alain Locke together with the widespread Black Arts movement of the 1920's, did much to insure the psychological survival of the Afro-American.

By the late 1920's, the status of the average black man was beginning to change. The paradox of 100,000 black men fighting in the Spanish American War and World War I and re-

turning home to racial strife and economic deprivation caused tremendous emotional stress for the Black man, which in turn affected the stability of the Black family. The widespread urbanization process, however, allowed the Black man freedom and security to express his dissatisfaction. In the larger metropolitan areas, he was in closer proximity to his Black brothers, which enabled him to become more aware of his opportunities and the importance of collective pressure in bringing about changes.

Political activity was on the upswing at this time. Disenfranchised Blacks were fighting through the courts for suffrage and those who had it were learning to use it as a power base. But it was not until 1954 that collective energies were used to make educational gains.

Integration: School desegregation. After World War II significant changes in federal governmental attitudes toward segregation began to take place. The government could no longer take a laissez-faire approach to the growing problems of blacks. At this time, the United States was the focus of world-wide attention in the struggle for democracy. Other countries began to perceive the American treatment of Blacks as contrary to the image which the United States was trying to manifest.

At the same time, state after state on the continent of Africa won independence. This contributed to the psychological identification of blacks on a world-wide level. The

ability of their African brothers to conquer imperialism fostered in the Afro-American the idea that he, too, was capable of attaining the same level of achievement. These two factors created an atmosphere which dictated the arrival of the phase of school desegregation. This phase, however, commenced as primarily one of litigation. It was not until the 1960's that it became one of practice and action.

The immediate impact was felt more in the South than in the North. It is important to emphasize that the process was, at this time, a legal and political phenomenon and, for most whites, the idea was unnatural and traumatic. The feelings of the Southern white masses were reinforced by the belligerent attitudes of Southern politicians like Governors Faubus and Wallace.

The affirmative action of the executive branch of the government set an unequaled precedent in support of the fight for equality. The new attitude in the executive branch helped to offset the trauma of blacks both directly and indirectly involved in the desegregation process. In addition, it revitalized the hopes and aspirations long suppressed by so many Black Americans.

Because there was often no legistlated school segregation policies in most parts of the North, the 1954 mandate did not directly affect these policies or northern racial attitudes. This should not suggest, however, that northern schools and children escaped the impact of general racial

attitudes of the time. Segregation in urban housing dictated segregation in urban schools. Those schools which happened to be predominantly black were, most often, poorly-staffed, undersupplied and in disrepair. On the other hand, Blacks who were attending integrated schools often met with prejudiced teachers and other school personnel who deliberately stifled young Black creativity. As discussed thus far, in other historical periods school desegregation placed Afro-Americans in the identical paradoxical position of having horizons broadened by the federal government but at the same time facing open local community hostility.

The problems in the pseudo-integrated northern schools are still in the process of being resolved. The ramifications of integration are as yet unclear and the best means of implementation have not been determined. Analysis of current problems in this area must be left to future studies.

Integration: Civil rights. During the period of desegregation, Black Americans were preparing themselves for another significant social change--the civil rights movement. By 1954, segregation had been ruled illegal in the schools and this ruling seemed inevitable in most other facets of American life. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the leader of the civil rights movement, approached the problem of segregation of public facilities by accommodation which expressed the brotherhood of man through non-violence. It was this movement that led to the Supreme Court ruling that segrega-

gation in public facilities was in violation of the Constitution and the eventual passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The movement seemed focussed because it addressed itself to one of the main issues of racism--the lack of understanding between Black and White Americans.

The Afro-American became more aware of who he was as he began to understand the nature of white racism. This supplied the emotional catalyst that propelled many Blacks into action, primarily one of protest against the otrocities of the racist system. The mere act of fighting diligently and collectively for those ideals believed to be right, added to the sense of accomplishment. Active participation involved a partial emotional release of Black self-hatred and aggression toward whites. Finally, it provided the Afro-American with a sense of existential meaning and purpose.

This movement was characterized by sit-ins, freedom rides, marches, boycotts and unfortunately the loss of lives and much bloodshed. It saw Rosa Parks taken from a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, and thrown into jail because she refused to move to the back of the vehicle. It gave rise to such organizations as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality.

The general impact of this era was the emergence of Black self-realization and solidarity. It culminated as mentioned with the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,

which had considerable bipartisan support, and was more easily enforced than any such enactment in history.

Black power movement. An interesting phenomenon which occurred toward the end of the civil rights movement was the eruption of riots in various northern cities which, perhaps, became the prelude to the Black power movement. Foremost among these were the riots in New York City, Newark, Philadelphia and Chicago in the summers of 1964. Civil rights leaders were quick to point out that the riots were not prescribed by that movement, but were, instead, angry outbursts of jobless, poverty-stricken people living under degrading conditions in the city slums. In addition Blacks in northern cities were tired of the non-violent strategy. They were tired of seeing Martin Luther King, Jr. and his southern brothers and sisters slapped, pistol- and club-whipped, water-hosed, murdered, and bombed out of their churches and homes. This according to Cross (1971) was the impetus that enabled many Afro-Americans to make a Negro to Black conversion.

Caplan and Paige (1968) viewed riots as the consequence of the prolonged exclusion of Black people from American economic and social life. Black people who were most likely to react violently to this exclusion were those who wanted a better life but felt that their own economic and social situations were a result of discrimination rather than personal inadequacies (Caplan, 1970; Kerner, 1968; Marx, 1967). In their study of ghetto rioters, Caplan and Paige (1968) found

the rioters were not hard-core unemployed or the least educated. They were more inclined to be long-time residents and believers in the old American value of hard work. There was also no evidence that the rioters had serious personality disturbances or were deviant in their social behavior. Some studies (Caplan, 1970; Forward & Williams, 1970) have concluded that rioters exhibited higher self-esteem and a greater ability to dispel traditional beliefs of inferiority than the rest of the Black population. Much of the above research data indicates that rioters, because of a revived racial identity, self-pride and image, no longer had the psychological defenses or social support that once reinforced adaptive inferiority. The inevitable awareness of the subtleties of racism propelled many Blacks into a more long-term goal-oriented direction. As a result of venting frustrations, Blacks became more attuned to themselves as a group and to the goals necessary to implement their struggle toward justice.

The movement toward Black power was unavoidable and represented a personal reintegrative phase of psycho-social development. What many Blacks did during the Black power period was to modify old values in order to incorporate a more focal sense of racial pride.

In the earliest period of the Black power movement, the term itself was, to many, a very ambiguous one. Some thought it was economic, others political. The confusion about the

correct meaning of Black power for the Blacks was evident, but whites were even more confused. This prompted the FBI and the CIA to keep files on Black "militants." Despite the fears of the white community, Blacks were moving in a positive direction--from the attempt at reconciling the residues of the so-called lost African heritage to the declaration slogan, "Black is beautiful" to the concept of fighting for justice by any means necessary (Malcolm X, 1970).

Black nationalist movement. Long before the civil rights movement, Black nationalists such as Paul Cuffee, Noble Drew Ali, Fard Muhammed, Marcus Garvey, and the Hon. Elijah Muhammed sought the voluntary separation of Blacks into their own nation, where they could exert some control over their politcal and social destinies. This was exemplified in Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement and by the Black Muslims, now the Nation of Islam. Black nationalists in general tried to deal with the problem of the Black man's cultural identity by insisting that living in the dominant white society did not meet the needs of Black people. It only placed him in the dilemma of being a member of two societies, Black and white. They also asserted that such a Black person has no refuge, especially if he tries to deny his Black identity and identify with whites, who often reject him because of his skin color. In response to the civil rights movement, the Muslims asserted that the United States would never grant equality to Black people and they should reject any semblance

of cooperation with whites. They should, however, focus their attention on the development of their own culture as well as their own political and economic institutions.

The feeling of Black nationalists then and now is that with no land, no ethnic religion and no culture, the Black man is placed in a state of suspension that offers more psychological harm than good. What the Black man needs, according to this group, is a complete separation from whites and the establishment of a national home. The Black man's dilemma--the subsequent state of suspension, and the absence of an identity with other Black people--is largely responsible for his failure to protest against the forces that oppressed him. The Muslims, like other Black nationalists, believe that Black people must become more aware of their identity as a group in American society and that they must face the impact of their lowered position. Collective action among Blacks must be seriously considered in order to rebuild Black communities and create a sense of human respect and dignity. Conceptually, there is little difference between the Black power advocates and the Black cultural nationalist in terms of expressing Black solidarity through collective communal efforts. This, according to both groups, is the catalust that builds racial pride and strength and more constructively channels the energies of a people to think and do for themselves.

The revolutionistic philosophies of Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party differ from those of other Black nation-

alists in that the latter are primarily concerned with Black self-determination and civil rights. The Black Panther Party considers themselves Black revolutionary nationalists concerned with the current state of racism and civil rights as a means of obtaining a progressive future. Nevertheless, while the Black Panther Party may not toally retreat to the past, they respect their Black heritage. The party, however, tends to utilize that aspect of the past that is best suited for the present struggle. But other, less functional areas of the past are also respected. In expressing his view on Black nationalism and separation, Bobby Seale, in an interview, states:

> When you talk of black separation it is not a point of whether we dig black separation. . . . The fact of the matter is that, now, we are already separated. So we're not concerned with abstract, false notions of integration. Nor are we concerned with abstract, false notions of separation. We are concerned with the political, economic and social evils (Bond & Seale, 1971).

The Black Elderly and the Literature

The elderly constitute an excellent liason between past and present yet there is relatively little to be learned about them from literature, even the writing on Black family life is equally non-productive (Bernard, 1966; Billingsley, 1968; Frazier, 1968; Willie, 1970). Brief comments can be found in early psycho-social research on this group and in historical writings on Blacks (Aptheker, 1970; Brink & Har-

ris, 1966, 1969; Davis et al., 1965; Du Bois, 1968; Franklin, 1961; Kardiner & Ovesey, 1962; Lowdermakes, 1968; Quarles, 1961). It is unsurprising that even in the field of gerontology very little information can be found (Jackson, 1967). Jackson (1971) explains that a trend of systematic exclusion of this group is due to assumptions made regarding various intrinsic and extrinsic characteristics of the Black elderly, and possibly the fear of opening Pandora's box. In her review of the literature, Jackson (1971) collected references on studies directly dealing with the Black elderly. Relatively little data was found. Some of these writings were unpublished and others were scattered in various journals.

Nevertheless, there is some literature on the Black elderly on which to build -- for example, reminiscences found in biographical accounts of ex-slaves. Much of the biographical data was collected through the Writers Projects of the Work Project Administration and is well-documented (Georgia Writers' Project, 1972; Lester, 1970; Rawick, 1972; Yetman, 1970).

The National Urban League's study (1965) concluded that the plight of the Black elderly was highly related to the degrading conditions most Afro-Americans faced throughout history--continual economic and social indignities; unemployment; overcrowded and substandard living conditions; inadequate medical care and second-class citizenship. These conditions, according to Poussaint (1966), have been the factors that

contributed most to lowered self-esteem for generations.

Exploratory Independent Variables

In addition to the effects of historical events on racial pride, this study considers other variables not only to test interactive effects, but to broaden its scope to accomodate a cross-section of Afro-Americans. Previous research (Davis et al., 1965; Powdermakes, 1968) has documented the following variables as having psychological import on the emotional makeup of many Afro-Americans: 1) sex, 2) negroidness (skin color and physical features), 3) social class, and 4) geographical region. The above variables constituted an outgrowth of the conditions of slavery and continued, perhaps until recently, to influence how Black people survived their dielmma in the United States.

The Black revolution-civil rights to the present enhanced solidarity both in purpose and in ideology. Previous research (Crain & Weisman, 1972; Kardiner & Ovesey, 1962; Karon, 1968) documented directionality and variability dealing with attitudes among Afro-Americans (e.g., sex, skin color, social class, and geographical regions). However, more recent research with a younger population suggests the above variables may no longer be a main determinant in Black attitudes formation (Cheek, 1972; Gift, 1971).

Sex. Attempts to emasculate male slaves in order to protect the economy of slavery, and the alleged concept of

Black female dominance are sociological issues commonly referred to when discussing the sexuality of Black people. A. Davis (1971) and Staples (1970) refute the concept of a slave matriarchy as a hoax because matriarchy implied power and slaves had no power. This hoax was generally used by racists to further suppress the Black man and destroy any potentiality of a power base accruing from a strong marital alliance. The emotional need for white men to exploit and rape Black women is well documented (Franklin, 1961; Frazier, 1968; Reuter, 1969). Since Black men were always alleged to be a physical threat to white men's self-esteem, whites tried to prohibit the natural responses of the male slave to protect his woman. This was done by threats of whipping and/or death. If a male slave tried to protect his wife, mother or other female, he was brutally whipped, mutilated or maliciously sold off as an example to other slaves who might have harbored similar thoughts (Franklin, 1961; Frazier, 1968). Slave narratives (Bayliss, 1970; Botkin, 1945; Georgia Writers' Project, 1972; Rawick, 1972) often report men being forced by threats of death to watch their wives or mothers being whipped. Many risked their lives and died protecting their women; others received only brutal whippings. More fortunate were those able to hide their wives and families in caves for years in protection against the slave master (Botkin, 1945).

If any real power existed among female slaves it was only circumstantial. However, it is essential to emphasize

that this power was matrifocal rather than matriarchal. A child's dependence on his mother or female guardian and a mother's natural commitment to keep her child safe, furnished many slave women with the best foundation for familial stability. Lacking male protection, in some instances the slave woman was often vulnerable to promiscuous white men. It is undeniable that her heroic attempts to keep her family together under severe forms of slavery made her essential. By eschewing her actual contribution and emphasizing some pseudo-matriarchical power, racists continually reinforce the notion of the Black man's emasculation. The "divide and conquer" technique was well employed in some regions and affected the psychological well-being of Black people (Frazier, 1968). Frazier further comments that, although a small percentage of slave families were able to maintain some appearance of a family unit, a patrifocal family structure was more evident among free Blacks, descendants of slaveholders and slaves living in urban areas as skilled artisans. A. Davis (1971) reports that within this family structure important decisions were made collectively.

Scarcity of jobs for Black men has always been a problem. Even during the Depression, Black women could find more opportunities for work. During the Depression most American males--Blacks and whites--were out of work, but for Black men as mentioned employment opportunities have always been minimal.

The myth of Black female dominance extends its supposed effects on the sexuality of Black men. The myth implied that boys from fatherless homes took on feminine characteristics (e.g. submissiveness) while girls assumed the male responsibilities of the mother. Scales such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) and the California Personality Inventory (CPI) report Black men as having high femininity and low masculinity scores respectively (Vincent, 1966). The most popularized example of high femininity among Black boys were affirmative responses to the MMPI test statement, "I would like to be a singer." For Black males a response like the above may not have been a reflection of sex-role identity problems, since the entertainment fields were the few occupations available to Blacks during the 1920's and 1930's. Herzog and Sudia (1968), in their review of research on the fatherless home, report no real foundation to the theory of high femininity among boys from such homes.

Some of the literature leads one to believe that the Black woman, because of her favored position relative to Black men during slavery and, later on, in other historical periods, might have had a racial pride and self-esteem higher than Black men. However, when one reviews the literature on Black leadership on any level in this country, it strongly indicates that Black men were almost always in the forefront. This, therefore, causes one to question earlier documents reflecting Black female dominance.

Negroidness. Despite white society's definition of the Negro as documented by Myrdal (1944), the Afro-American is multi-racial as a result of either legal marriages, indiscriminant raping of Black women or their use as breeders for the production of so-called "stronger slaves." The eventual term, "Afro-American", is therefore a description of a range of individuals, from those who resembled paradigmatic Africans to those who were indistinguishable from whites (Davis et al., 1965).

In a society where whiteness is viewed as the standard of excellence, Afro-Americans lighter in color or having certain Caucasian features were considered more privileged, and, in some cases, treated differently by both Blacks and whites. Du Bois (1899) described a sign in an employment office in Philadelphia reading "only light need apply", a demonstration of this preference for light-skinned Afro-Americans. Until recently, color was alleged to have played a major role in how the individual perceived himself, other Blacks and whites in his community. As far back as slavery, the children of slaveholders were held in higher esteem than their darker brothers and sisters (Franklin, 1961) and were more educated (Purdue, 1973). However, despite his status in the Black community, he was often the victim of a love-hate phenomenon. On one hand, his lightness earned him preference in the Black community in general--and even within families; on the other, it often precluded his full acceptance by his Black peers

(Davis et al., 1965; Malcolm X, 1970; Kardiner & Ovesey, 1962). Similarly he was also the victim of the identical ambivalence from the white community, for similar reasons (Dollard, 1939; Rawick, 1972; Reuter, 1969).

The mulatto's marginal position often implied minimal emotional commitment to any group, and consequently reflected some doubt as to where such individuals stood in terms of racial pride. His favored position in the Black community could have enhanced racial pride. On the other hand, his marginality and a strong emotional identification with his white or Indian heritage reflected a lowered racial pride. In the Clark and Clark (1939) study with Black children, a dark-skinned doll was the least preferred among light-skinned children. In later studies (Hraba & Grant, 1970; Ward & Braun, 1972) the phenomenon described in the Clarks' study appears reversed with lighter-skinned children preferring darker-skinned dolls. This implies that color-consciousness among Black people, especially youth, has somewhat altered. However the extent this has affected the elderly is not, as yet, documented in the literature.

Education level and social class standing. Education to many southern Blacks was of vital importance. It enabled them to find occupations other than janitorial or domestic. Education was also a status symbol. To be a teacher, minister, doctor, or lawyer was a great achievement. These people were generally regarded with respect and were referred to by

whites as "credits to their race". Along with this came a great emotional responsibility, not only due to status but as an example of what Black people could be. In some respects, the educated Black man remained somewhat aloof. In some cities, the middle class Blacks attended different churches (e.g., Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Congregational and Catholic) and joined social clubs with people of similar class standing. This phenomenon appeared to be more observable in urban areas (Du Bois, 1899; Frazier, 1957; Ottley & Weatherby, 1967; Purdue, 1973). The larger the Black community, the more observable the class distinction. In general, the Black middle class was characterized by a movement away from the values of the Black lower class and more toward the values of the white middle class (Frazier, 1957; Davis et al., 1965). The men generally considered it distasteful to marry below their social class (Du Bois, 1899; Frazier, 1957; Ottley & Weatherby, 1967; Purdue, 1973). The family life was relatively more stable than that found in the lower class (Frazier, 1968; Purdue, 1973). Since high educational attainment was usually an entree to a higher social class, it was of vital emphasis in the Black middle class and further distanced them from the Black lower class.

Practically all of the evils and sins of Black people have been attributed to the lower class (referred to as "common class")--Blacks who were less advantaged, less educated and whose value systems were different from those of the

other classes (Davis et al., 1965). If this is true, it is certainly not a racial phenomenon, but one consistent with any caste-class system. The lower class has a dissimilar social experience and hence behaves dissimilarly because its burden in the social hierarchy is the greatest.

Among whites, for example, the lower class is often burdened with similar labels and characteristics. In the white social system, lower-class whites are referred to as "poor white trash" whereas, in the Black social system, the lower-class Blacks are referred to as "niggers". However, in the total American caste system, Blacks, regardless of educational level and/or social class, are relegated as inferior and are referred to as "niggers" even by whites lowest in the social hierarchy (Davis et al., 1965). Consequently, this system prevents all Blacks from enjoying the rights and privileges enjoyed by all whites, regardless of social class standing (Sutherland, 1942; Thompson, 1963). This placed the Black middle class in the paradoxical position of enjoying the privilege of not belonging to the Black lower class, but not being able to enjoy the rights, privileges and freedom of even lower class whites. Pettigrew (1964) further points out that despite membership in this problematic middle-class Blacks lighter in skin color were more privileged and in some cases suffered less of an emotional conflict concerning their blackness than darker brothers. Du Bois (1899) and Purdue (1973) make such a case from studies of the middle class in

Philadelphia and Savannah, Georgia. The Black revolution affected social class distinctions in the Black community to some extent by affording some philosophical unity.

Geographical region. The eastern coastlines along the northern and southern part of the United States have had different impacts on the development of racial pride among Black people. To many slaves the north was the place of freedom, and many risked their lives to cross into the "heaven" up north. The south, especially the deep southern states like South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and parts of Louisiana, meant pure hell to many slaves.

Accounts from slave narratives indicate that to be sent to the deep south from, say, Virginia, not only served as punishment in some cases, but meant a permanent separation from wives, husbands and children. Being enslaved in the deep south also made the probability of escape to freedom more remote.

Regional attitudes toward Black people have great import, because they tend to shape the psycho-social development of people living within the particular region. Karon's (1958) study of the Negro personality not only validates differences among native southern and northern Blacks, but points out differences between native northern and southern whites. He also points out why Negroes in different regions differ in their perception of the world. Karon, in the same study, concludes that this difference is primarily due to variations

in the severity of caste sanctions affecting northern and southern Blacks. A more recently published study (Crain & Weisman, 1972) reports very similar findings. Although all Blacks are subjected to caste sanctions, emotional effects (e.g. denial of overt aggression) are more observable among southern Blacks where caste sanctions are greater than among nothern-born Blacks. Similarly, according to Karon (1958), the same principle applies even within southern regions.

Regional histories of any social system are important factors since they have some influence over personal values. The style of existence of freed men and free Black colonies in such southern cities as Charleston, South Carolina, Savannah, Georgia, New Orleans, Louisiana, various cities within the state of Virginia, and in such northern states as New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania was a strong indicator that the lives of Black people living in these areas differed from those of their counterparts in areas with limited or restrained attitudes toward Black people.

Problem

There is, as mentioned earlier in the paper, an overwhelming absence of elderly Afro-American viewpoints in the literature (Jackson, 1971)--a potentially valuable resource relatively untapped, in the view of this writer. Moreover, there is no existing study that specifically utilizes biographical interview data to psycho-historically study racial

identity over time. Kardiner and Ovesey (1962) used a psychoanalytic technique in which condensed case histories, Rorschach tests, dream analyses and summaries from therapeutic sessions were used to examine black behavior, but, like Frier and Cobbs (1968), the study focussed on people with emotional problems. Dollard (1939), on the other hand, used the participal observation-interview approach. By assimilating in a southern town, he unobtrusively accumulated life histories of nine Black people and some whites. The problem of this and later research employing whites to interview Black respondents is validity (Schuman & Converse, 1971). For survival reasons, Blacks have learned to be careful in their responses to whites (Lomax, 1971). It is also unclear if Dollard was really aware of and could interpret the essence of Black experiences. Many of such studies were often used to maintain the status quo among Americans, by reinforcing negative stereotypic thinking of Black people (Ferguson, 1970).

The present study differs from previous studies mentioned above in that: 1) it specifically studies Afro-Americans --the descendents of American slaves; 2) its psycho-historical approach supplies some data on rationales for racial attitudinal changes over a considerable time; 3) it incorporates a cross-section of Black people by sex, degree of negroidness, social class stading (SES) and geographical region; and 4) the investigator is Black.

Hypotheses

1) Significant changes in racial pride will be shown to correlate with historical events.

2) Significant changes in attitudes toward black leadership will be shown to correlate with historical events.

3) Significant changes in leadership awareness will be shown to correlate with historical events.

C H A P T E R I I

METHOD

The main technique used to test the hypotheses was an interview guide developed by the writer for this study. It consisted of 250 structural and open-ended questions on issues eliciting racial and personal attitudes toward historical events and Black leadership over time. Thirty-seven responses were coded by the experimenter to measure, where appropriate, racial identity. A more detailed description is noted later in Appendix II.

Subjects

Subjects for this study were 64 male and female Afro-Americans from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Savannah, Georgia, comprising the northern and southern sample respectively. Thirty-two subjects of equal gender designations were selected from each city. A summary of further subject delineation by negroidness, social class and sex by geographical region is presented in Table 1.

All of the subjects were aged 65 or more and the oldest subject was 85 years old. Table 2 reflects the listing of subjects' ages and their frequency.

With only two exceptions, all subjects lived alone and were self-supporting primarily by pension plans and/or savings. Two subjects were not born in the cities under study,

Table 1

Listing of Subjects according to Their Degree of Negroidness, Social Class Standing, and Sex, by Geographical Region

Groups	Number of Subjects	
	North	South
High Negroid/High Social Status Males	4	4
High Negroid/High Social Status Females	4	4
High Negroid/Low Social Status Males	4	4
High Negroid/Low Social Status Females	4	4
Low Negroid/High Social Status Males	4	4
Low Negroid/High Social Status Females	4	4
Low Negroid/Low Social Status Males	4	4
Low Negroid/Low Social Status Females	4	4
Total	32	32

Table 2

Listing of Ages and Their Frequency

Age	Frequency		
	North	South	Total
65	11	5	16
66	1	2	3
67	4	1	5
68	2	2	4
69	0	2	1
70	1	3	4
71	3	3	6
72	0	2	2
73	0	2	2
74	4	1	5
75	0	2	2
76	1	0	1
77	1	1	2
78	1	0	1
79	2	2	4
80	0	1	1
81	1	1	2
82	0	0	0
83	0	1	1
84	0	0	0
85	0	1	1
	32	32	64

but lived in these cities since they were a year old.

The subjects represented a variety of occupational categories and educational levels. Table 3 summarizes subject proportions in each occupational and educational category by geographical region.

Negroidness (skin color and physical features) was measured by a ten-point scale developed by the experimenter for this study. The scale ranged from 2 to 10: a score of 2 represented Caucasian features and a score of 10 represented Negroid features. The scale was further divided into two sub-scales measuring color and physical features. A color score of 1 represented "white" in skin color and a score of 5 represented very dark skin color. The second sub-scale--physical features--also ranged from 1 to 5, with a score of 1 representing predominantly Caucasian features and a score of 5 representing predominantly Negroid features. The criteria for judging color is obvious. The criteria for judging physical features was: 1) hair texture and color--from natural hair straightness and the lighter hue representing Caucasian characteristics to the curly (wavy) or the tightly curled hair type mostly found among African descendents; 2) the shapes of the nose and lips; and 3) eye color, especially among those with light brown eyes, blue or green eyes. In the actual study the negroidness scale was scored after all of the interview questions had been asked. For the study, low negroidness--light skin color and relative Caucasian

Table 3

Listing of Occupational and Educational Levels by Geographical Region

	Number of Subjects		
	North	South	Total
Occupational Categories			
Professional	8	13	21
Business	4	3	7
Clerical	10	6	16
Skilled worker	0	2	2
Semi-skilled worker	6	3	9
Unskilled worker	1	4	5
Other (housewife)	3	1	4
	32	32	64
Educational Levels			
Graduate or professional degrees	3	11	14
College graduate	1	3	4
Some college	9	3	14
High school graduate	9	2	11
9th to 11th grade	5	6	11
8th grade or less	5	5	10
	32	32	64

features--obtained a score from 2 to 4, and high negroidness --darker skin color and Negroid features--obtained a score of 5 through 10. Relative frequencies of the score are demonstrated in Table 4.

The Negroid scale reliability testing was done before the data were collected. The experimenter and two other people (Black) rated students at random sitting in the University of Massachusetts snack bar. The raters and the experimenter rated the same students with no discrepancies between people in the extreme categories--Negroid and Caucasian features. However, there were minor discrepancies between the assessments of the raters, but they were all within one point of one another. The minor discrepancies occurred in the rating of students with a mixture of Negroid and Caucasian features. Among this group of students, the greatest discrepancy occurred when the raters tried to determine if these students were Black. The raters all agreed that the main problem was evaluating hair textures (e.g. very curly hair or degrees of hair coarseness). No statistical analysis of the scale was necessary since its focus was determining the reliability of the rater's judgment.

Procedures

Subjects for the study were recruited by a variety of methods. In most cases one person in both cities made most of the initial contacts. This method seemed more expedient

Table 4

Listing of Skin Color, Physical Features and Negroidness and Their Frequency

	Number of Subjects		
	North	South	Total
Skin Color			
1	9	5	14
2	9	8	17
3	8	4	12
4	6	10	16
5	0	5	5
	32	32	64
Physical Features			
1	4	6	10
2	13	10	23
3	8	3	11
4	7	10	17
5	0	3	3
	32	32	64
Negroidness			
2	3	2	5
3	4	3	7
4	9	11	20
5	3	0	3
6	6	1	7
7	2	2	4
8	5	4	9
9	0	9	9
10	0	0	0
	32	32	64

and yielded a lower percentage of rejection. Prospective subjects were least likely to reject requests from friends. Most subjects rejected when the experimenter made the initial call. In cases where I made initial contacts, I was referred by another elderly person. In still other cases, names of prospective subjects were obtained from interviewed subjects. Again, in many cases, they often made the initial call. In most cases the experimenter made the appointments with prospective subjects. Ministers, senior citizen centers also comprised the referral list. In the Savannah sample only seven subjects were previously known to the experimenter and in Philadelphia, only three subjects were known to the experimenter.

Instructions

Before the interview guide was administered, each subject was informed that: 1) the research was for a dissertation which would delineate attitudes of Afro-Americans sixty-five-years-old or older; and 2) it was important to give personal opinions to each question. When necessary subjects were also assured that the examiner would ask only background questions, and that the responses were confidential. After this, each subject was asked: "Would you mind if I taped this session?"

The instructions as outlined in the interview guide were followed with this opening question: "First, I would like to ask some background questions."

Thirty-seven of the items required a coding of either Positive Racial Identity, Vague Racial Identity or Negative Racial Identity. This coding depended on relative positive ornegative responses to the item. For example, Item #249 reads:

> Some people feel that Black people will never achieve true freedom until all Black people begin to fight racism together as a group. Would you agree or disagree?, and why?

A coding of positive racial identity would require a response similar to the following:

> I agree. (Why?) The effects of racism are too great for only a few people to fight. We would need the support of many Black people, but not necessarily all Black people, working together in some form of activity, like the Civil Rights organization or the NAACP, for example.

A negative racial identity coding would, perhaps, resemble this statement:

> I agree. (Why?) Because it'se the only way to gain some respect in this country, but it won't happen because Black people can't work together for too long, because they usually start fighting among themselves and consequently will not get anywhere . . . . It always turns out that way.

A coding of Vague Racial Identity would result when ambiguity is expressed and is usually reflected in this statement:

> I can't answer that, because sometimes I feel that it would be good to get together, but at other times, I feel it wouldn't work. (Why do you feel

that way?) I don't know. (If you had to make a choice, which would you choose?) I really don't know.

Dependent Variables

There were two scales and one index amenable to quantification: 1) racial pride, 2) Black leadership, and 3) leadership awareness index. These measures were developed from items used in the interview guide described above and will be used as dependent variables. The reliability for each measure is reported in the results section of this text. The rationale for the use of such measures was to test the hypotheses related to relative changes in 1) racial pride, 2) attitudes toward Black leadership, and 3) leadership awareness.

All of the questions within each measure were identical. Although 37 of the 250 items were coded using the judgment of the writer, as mentioned earlier, none of the judgment coded items were used in the scales. A description of each measure (scale) is detailed below.

Racial pride scale. The scale was designed to measure racial pride in each historical phase. The question within phases required respondents to: 1) compare any change in racial pride of Black people within a preceding period [e.g., "As you look back over the period when Black power started, do you now think Black people were more or less proud of being Black than they were during the civil rights movement?"]; 2) compare any personal change in racial pride with a preced-

ing period [e.g., "At the time, did you feel more or less proud of being Black than you were during the time of the civil rights movement?"]; and 3) evaluate racial pride of Black people within an historical phase [e.g., "During the time the term "Black power" was frequently used (1966-1970) Black people had a great amount of racial pride, do you strongly agree, agree, . . ."]. In the first two comparisons the respondent evaluated racial pride of a preceding time on a continuum: 1) more proud, 2) no change, and 3) less proud. In the third comparison--within phase evaluation--a Likert-scale response model was used, e.g., 1) strongly agree, 2) agree, 3) disagree, and 4) strongly disagree.

The rationale for the three-part format was to discriminate, especially in the first two, between the self and others when comparing racial pride with a preceding period. In the third case the concept of the self and others was combined and required the respondent to evaluate racial pride of Black people within a period. The interesting unlisted assumption here was that the respondent would make such evaluations on the basis of his own in-group feelings or identification.

The scale comprised twelve items and there were three items in each historical period. The reliability of the scale is presented in the results section of this text.

Attitudes toward Black leadership scale. This was an evaluative scale of nationally-known Black leaders on three

dimensions: 1) positive versus negative feelings; 2) responsible versus irresponsible leadership; 3) effective versus ineffective leadership; 4) whether or not leader made special attempts to help less fortunate Black people; 5) whether or not Black people thought favorably of the leader; and 6) what, if any, attempts did the leader make to improve the lives of Black people.

All of the six questions were identical for each leader and there were two leaders evaluated in each of the four historical phases.

The ideologies of leadership ranged from the conservatism of Roy Wilkins to the militant ideology of Huey P. Newton and Stokely Carmichael. This range was maintained both within and across historical phases. For example, in historical phase I--segregation--W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, and Marcus Garvey were used. Only Du Bois and Garvey were used in the scale for this period. In historical phase II--integration--Thurgood Marshall, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Roy Wilkins were used. Marshall and Wilkins were used in the scale. In historical phase III--Black power--Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael and Floyd McKesser were used. Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael were included in the scale. In historical phase IV--Black nationalist--Hon. Elijah Muhammed, Huey P. Newton and Jesse Jackson were used. Hon. Muhammed and Jesse Jackson were included in the scale. Leaders were eliminated from the scale either because there was ab-

solutely no variability (i.e., B. T. Washington, Martin Luther King) or that respondents knew too little about them to make meaningful evaluations (i.e., McKissick and Newton) or the reliability correlations were limited. This applied to all cases of scale deletions.

This scale in some respects measured racial awareness, but the focus of the questions was more a function of attitudes about Black people via Black leadership. Secondly, the scale provided insight into whether the elderly were favorable toward conservative or militant leadership. The reliability coefficients for this scale are presented in the results section of this text.

Leadership awareness (ever heard) index. This index specifically measured leadership awareness. Eight questions comprised the index. The questions were identical and read, "Have you ever heard of (leader)?" The interesting feature of this index is the measurement of selective leadership awareness. The untested assumption was that a respondent would be more aware of a leader who expressed a personal ideological reference than those who did not. The inter-item correlation is presented in the results section.

C H A P T E R I I I

RESULTS

The quantitative analysis of the data from this study can be presented in the reliability of the three dependent measures and the hypotheses relating historical periods and demographic features. To complement this across-subjects analysis, four individual case studies are included in Appendix I to demonstrate how these issues interrelate for specific persons.

Reliability of Psychological Measures

Three psychological measures were the dependent variables in this study:[1] (1) racial pride scale; (2) attitudes toward Black leadership scale; and (3) leadership awareness index. The reliability coefficients (Chronbach Alpha) of the dependent variables scales for each of the four historical periods ranged from .45 to .93 with a mean coefficient of .70. Relatively high inter-item correlations of the awareness index and, in most cases, high Chronbach Alpha values for the scales allowed the writer to use the scales and index as reasonable dependent variables.

Tables 5 through 7 summarize the inter-item correlations

---

[1]A correlational design was used and does not necessarily demonstrate causal relationships between historical periods and the psychological variables.

Table 5

Summary of Inter-Item Correlations and Alphas for Racial Pride Scale

His. Phase	Item	Corrected item scale r	Alpha
I	1	.59	.70
	2	.47	
	3	.51	
II	1	.53	.59
	2	.52	
	3	.29	
III	1	.26	.45
	2	.39	
	3	.31	
IV	1	.64	.74
	2	.56	
	3	.49	

Table 6. Summary of Inter-Item Correlations and Alphas for Attitudes toward Black Leadership Scale

His. Phase	Leader	Item	Corrected item r	Alpha	His. Phase	Leader	Item	Corrected item r	Alpha
	DuBois	1	.67			Malcolm X	1	.59	
		2	.68				2	.77	
		3	.61	.83			3	.81	.87
		4	.61				4	.57	
		5	.58				5	.68	
		6	.57				6	.67	
I					III				
	Garvey	1	.67			Stokely	1	.66	
		2	.78				2	.62	
		3	.77	.88			3	.73	.86
		4	.69				4	.69	
		5	.59				5	.62	
		6	.68				6	.63	
	Marshall	1	.81			Malcolm	1	.85	
		2	.88				2	.83	
		3	.84	.93			3	.77	.86
		4	.92				4	.20	
		5	.80				5	.62	
		6	.74				6	.69	
II					IV				
	Wilkins	1	.76			Jackson	1	.74	
		2	.87				2	.81	
		3	.64	.84			3	.81	.93
		4	.66				4	.94	
		5	.21				5	.84	
		6	.74				6	.74	

Table 7

Summary of Inter-Item Correlations and Alphas for Leadership Awareness Index

His. Phase	Item	Corrected item r	Alpha
I	1	.65	*
	2	.39	
II	1	.44	
	2	.59	
III	1	.71	
	2	.69	
IV	1	.56	
	2	.44	

*Cronback Alpha cannot be computed with less than three items.

and Alpha for each of the psychological measures by historical periods: (1) Table 5--racial pride scale; (2) Table 6--attitudes toward leadership scale; (3) Table 7--leadership awareness index.

Testing the Hypotheses

In this section are presented the analyses of data obtained from the racial pride and attitudes toward leadership scales, and the leadership awareness index. The primary hypothesis reflecting changes over four historical periods was tested along with the secondary independent variables: sex, negroidness, social class standing, and geographical region.

The organization of presentation and tests of hypotheses will be done by each of the psychological measures separately. Because of the sample size (N = 64), higher order interaction effects were judged to be inappropriate for calculations and presentation.

Racial Pride

The main hypothesis that there would be significant changes in racial pride over historical periods finds support in the data. The results of the analyses of variance shown in Table 8 revealed a significant difference for the main effect of time (historical periods). Means and standard deviations for racial pride by historical periods along with all

Table 8

Summary of the Analysis of Variance Relating the Racial Pride Scale to the Independent Variables

Source of Variation	DF	Mean Square	F
Main Effects	7		3
Time (historical period)	3	2.879	4.217**
City (geographic region)	1	4.785	7.009**
Sex	1	.457	.669
SES (social class standing)	1	.027	.040
Negroidness	1	.104	.152
2-Way Interactions			
Time by city	3	.858	1.257
Time by sex	3	.760	1.113
Time by SES	3	.638	.934
Time by negroidness	3	.615	.901
City by sex	1	.604	.885
City by SES	1	.101	.148
City by negroidness	3	1.476	2.162
Sex by SES	1	2.476	3.627
Sex by negroidness	1	.715	1.047
SEX by negroidness	1	.028	.040

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

inter-period T values are presented in Table 9. A bar graph of racial pride by historical period is presented in Figure 1 and demonstrates expected increases in racial pride except in the Black nationalist period where the mean tends to decrease. The results of the t-test for racial pride revealed significant differences between each of the historical periods with the exception of the comparisons between the integration and Black nationalist periods and between the Black power and Black nationalist periods. The analysis of variance in Table 8 revealed a significant difference between geographical regions on racial pride ($F = 7.009$, $p < .01$). Means and standard deviations for the two regions are given in Table 10. This is interpreted to indicate the higher pride scores for the Southern sample. Sex, social class standing and negroidness revealed no significant main effects. No interaction effects emerged in the analysis.

Attitudes toward Black Leadership

The general hypothesis that historical events would be related to attitudes toward Black leadership was supported in all cases except in geographical regions and negroidness. The summary of the analysis of variance is presented in Table 11. Means and standard deviations for historical periods, sex and social class are given in Table 12. The table reveals that during the period of integration attitudes toward

Table 9

Means, Standard Deviations and T Values between Each of the Four Historical Periods on Racial Pride Scale

Historical Period	M	SD	Historical Period			
			I	II	III	IV
I	1.84	1.23		2.28*	3.50**	2.71**
II	1.48	.62			2.14*	.57
III	1.34	.54				1.24
IV	1.43	.49				

*p < .05, two-tail test
**p < .01, two-tail test
***p < .001, two-tail test

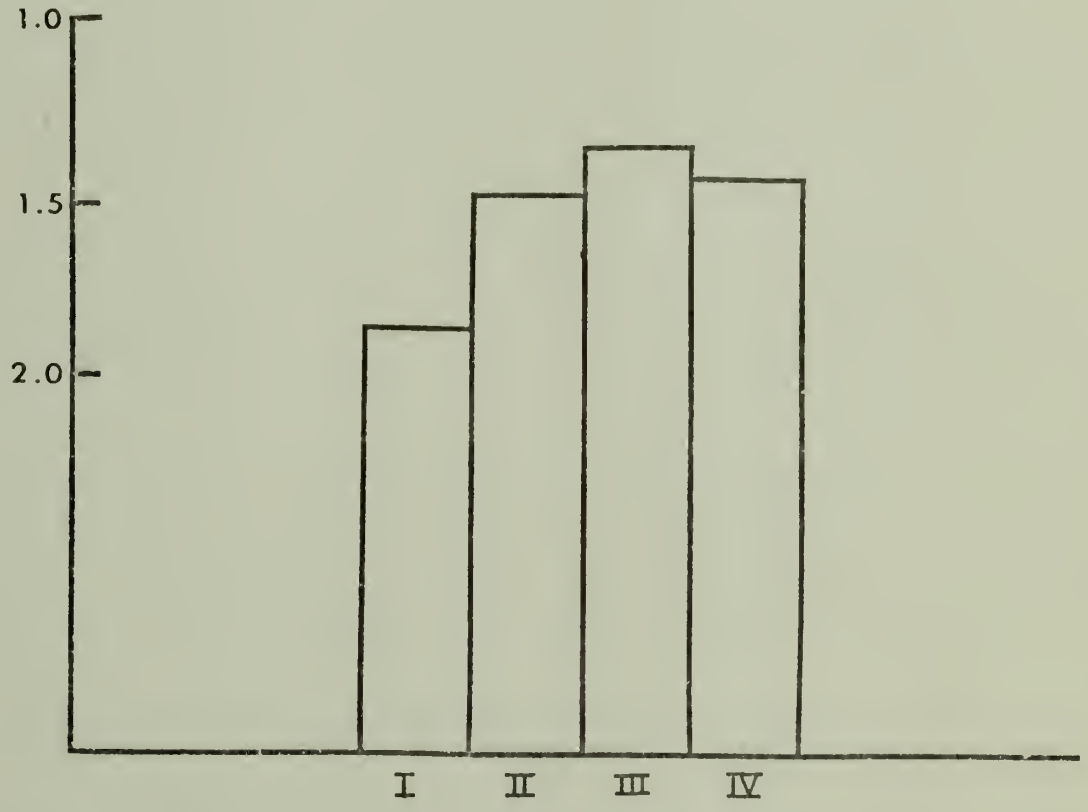

Figure 1. Racial pride by historical periods.

Table 10

Means and Standard Deviations

of Geographical REgion by Racial Pride

Geographical Region	Means	Standard Deviation
North	1.5859	1.0312
South	1.3125	.6243

Table 11

Summary of the Analysis of Variance Relating the Attitudes toward Leadership Scale to the Independent Variables

Source of Variation	DF	Mean Square	F
Main Effects			
Time (historical period)	3	5865.172	320.547***
City (geographic region)	1	.766	.042
Sex	1	244.656	13.371***
SES (social class standing)	1	367.442	20.082***
Negroidness	1	2.480	.136
2-Way Interactions			
Time by city	3	10.984	.600
Time by sex	3	41.801	2.285
Time by SES	3	115.456	6.310***
Time by negroidness	3	17.298	.945
City by sex	1	44.231	2.417
City by SES	1	64.260	3.512
City by negroidness	1	9.365	.512
Sex by SES	1	2.739	.150
Sex by negroidness	1	8.172	.447
SES by negroidness	1	5.763	.315

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

Table 12

Means and Standard Deviations of Independent Variables by Attitudes toward Leadership Scale. T Values Are Indicated for Historical Periods.

Variable	Means	SD	T Values I	II	III	IV
Historical Periods						
I	9.79	2.61		6.16***	18.58***	2.45*
II	7.50	2.17			22.36***	4.02***
III	27.79	8.15				21.13***
IV	8.93	2.66				
Sex						
male	12.45	8.44				
female	14.56	10.36				
Social Class						
high	12.25	8.10				
low	14.76	10.58				

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

Black leadership were more positive than in any other period. Males as well as female from high social class groups had more positive attitudes toward Black leaders than females and people from the lower social class group. A bar graph demonstrating changes in leadership is presented in Figure 2. Each period, in Figure 2, is shown to be significantly different from all others with the lowest assessment of leaders being made in the Black power period and the highest in the integration period. The fluctuation over the four periods is striking.

A significant interaction effect was found between historical periods and social class ($F = 6.62$, $p < .001$). Means and standard deviations for this interaction are found in Table 13 revealing that people from high social standing had more positive attitudes toward Black leaders in all four historical periods. The interaction effects are significant during the integration and Black power periods. Figure 3 demonstrates the relationship between the two variables. T-tests comparing the social class group in each historical period, also included in Table 13, revealed significant differences for the integration period ($t = 3.06$, $p < .05$) and for the Black power period ($t = 3.51$, $p < .01$).

The above analysis reveals significant changes in attitudes toward Black leadership throughout the four historical periods. The higher SES group had significantly more positive attitudes towards leaders during the integration and

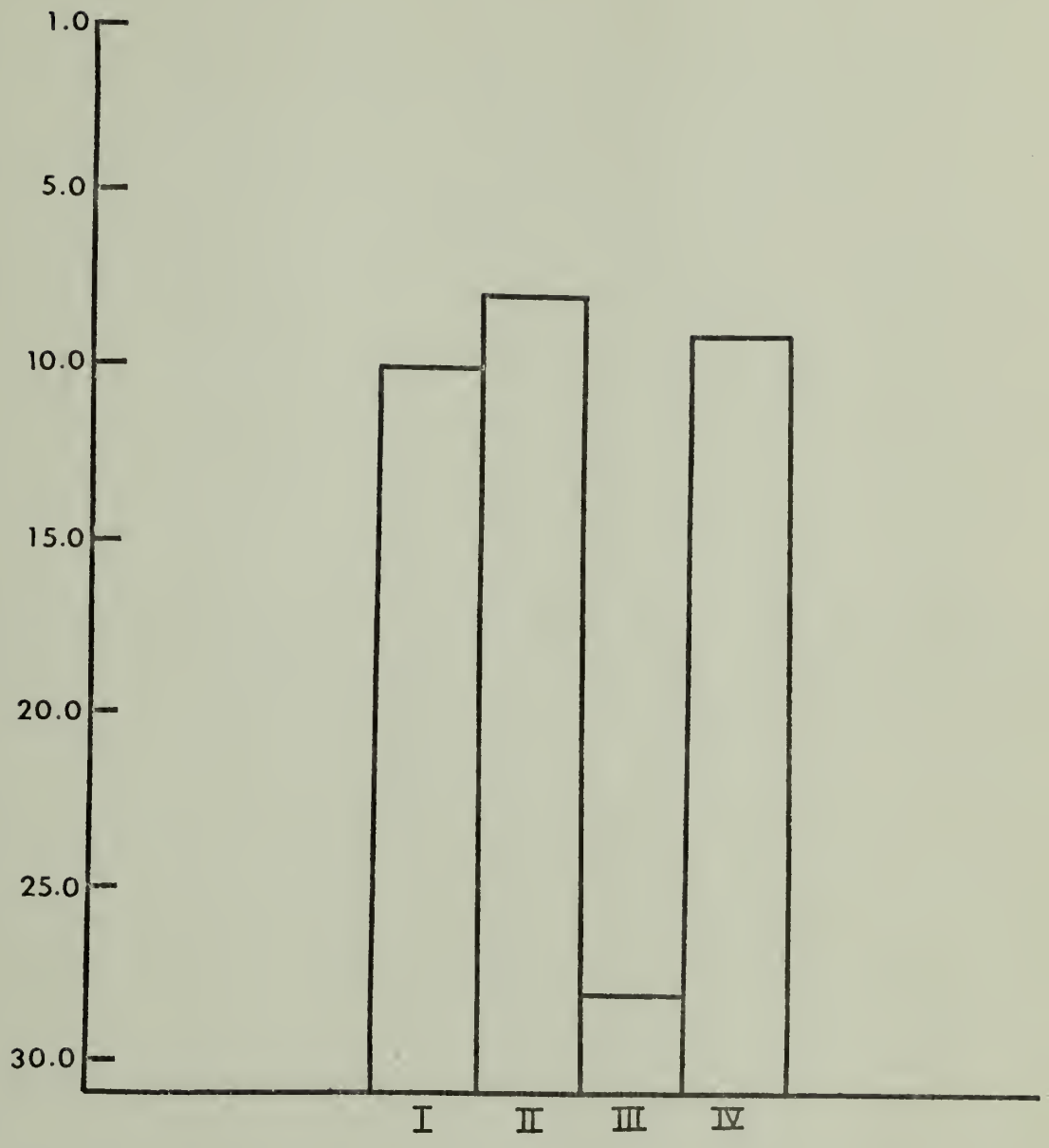

Figure 2. Attitudes toward Black leadership by historical period.

Table 13

Mean and Standard Deviations for Attitudes toward Leadership Scale by Historical Period and SES along with the T Value Comparing High and Low SES Groups for Each Period

Period	SES	Mean	SDS	T between SES Groups
I	high	9.37	2.29	
	low	10.21	2.88	1.30
II	high	6.71	1.14	
	low	8.28	2.65	3.06*
III	high	24.50	6.72	
	low	31.09	8.22	3.51**
IV	high	8.40	2.62	
	low	9.46	2.62	1.62

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

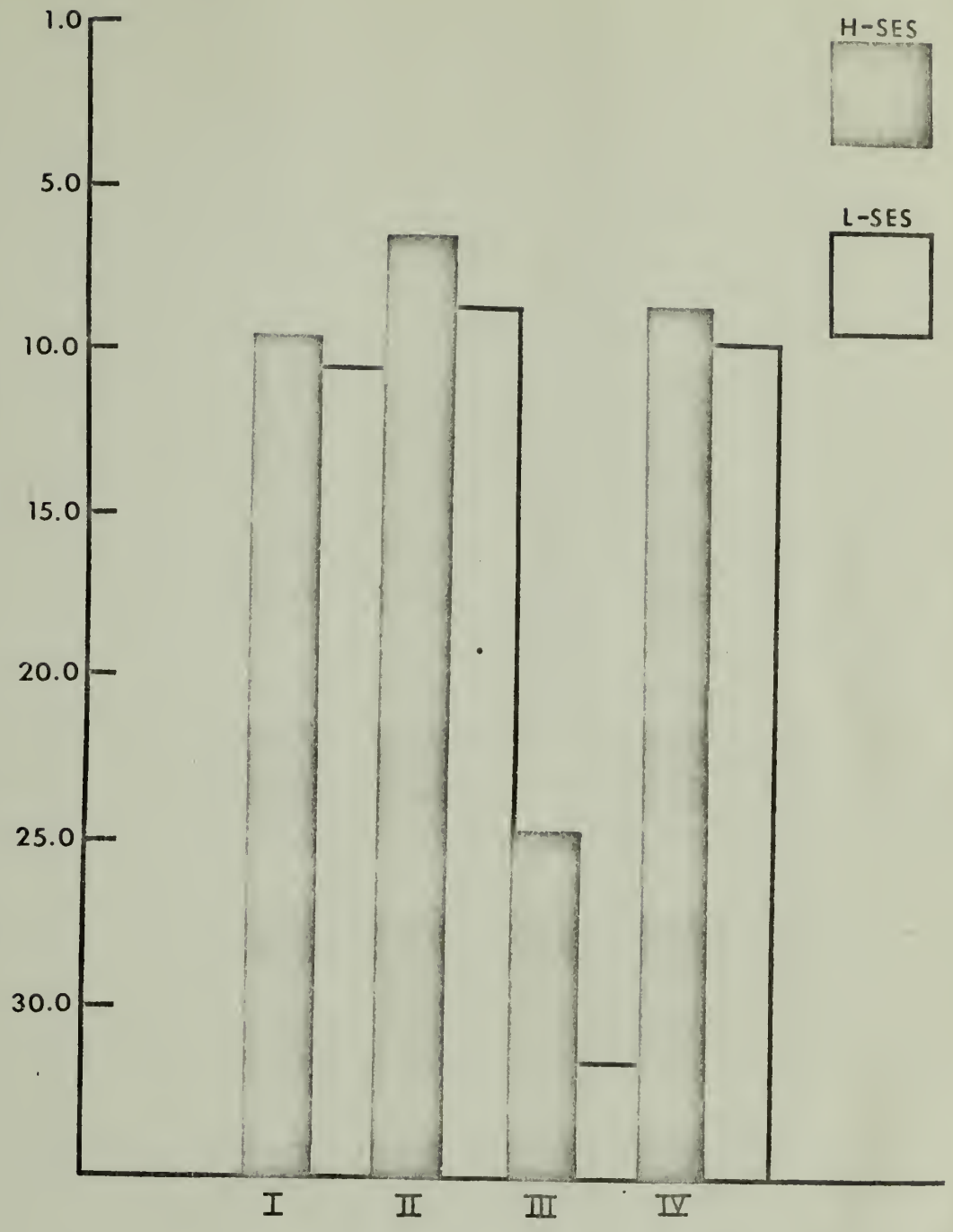

Figure 3. Historical period by SES interaction.

the Black power period than the lower SES groups. Males, also, had more positive attitudes toward Black leadership than females. No other significance was found.

Leadership Awareness Index

The general hypothesis that there would be significant differences in leadership awareness when comparing the four historical periods was supported. The summary of the analysis of variance is presented in Table 14. Means and standard deviations of the variables yielding significant main effects in relation to leadership awareness are presented in Table 15. The means presented in Table 15 reveal more leadership awareness during the integration period than in any other period. Males and people from the higher SES were more aware than females and people from the lower SES group. A bar graph reflecting changes in leadership awareness is presented in Figure 4. T-tests, included in Table 15, comparing historical periods on leadership awareness revealed significant differences between the segregation and integration periods ($p < .05$) but not with the Black power and Black nationalist periods. Significant differences were also found comparing the integration period with the Black power period ($p < .001$) and the Black nationalist period ($p < .001$). There was no significant difference between the Black power and Black nationalist periods.

Table 14

Summary of the Analysis of Variance Relating the Leadership Awareness Index to the Five Independent Variables

Source of Variation	DF	Mean Square	F
Main Effects			
Time (historical period)	3	.348	4.207**
City (geographic region)	1	.316	3.829*
Sex	1	.525	6.351*
SES (social class standing)	1	1.906	23.058***
Negroidness	1	.010	.123
2-Way Interactions			
Time by city	3	.066	.804
Time by sex	3	.064	.777
Time by SES	3	.175	2.122
Time by negroidness	3	.199	2.410
City by sex	1	.472	5.707*
City by SES	1	.365	4.415*
City by negroidness	1	.034	.413
Sex by SES	1	.333	4.029*
Sex by negroidness	1	.352	4.264*
SES by negroidness	1	.002	.024

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

Table 15

Means and Standard Deviations of Independent Variables by the Leadership Awareness Index. T Values Are Indicated for Historical Periods.

Variable	Means	SD	T Values I	II	III	IV
Historical Periods						
I	1.13	.27		2.41*	1.18	1.09
II	1.06	.20			3.84***	4.16***
III	1.16	.29				.00
IV	1.16	.19				
Geographical Region						
North	1.07	.27				
South	1.14	.35				
Sex						
male	1.06	.24				
female	1.16	.37				
SES						
high	1.02	.15				
low	1.20	.40				

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

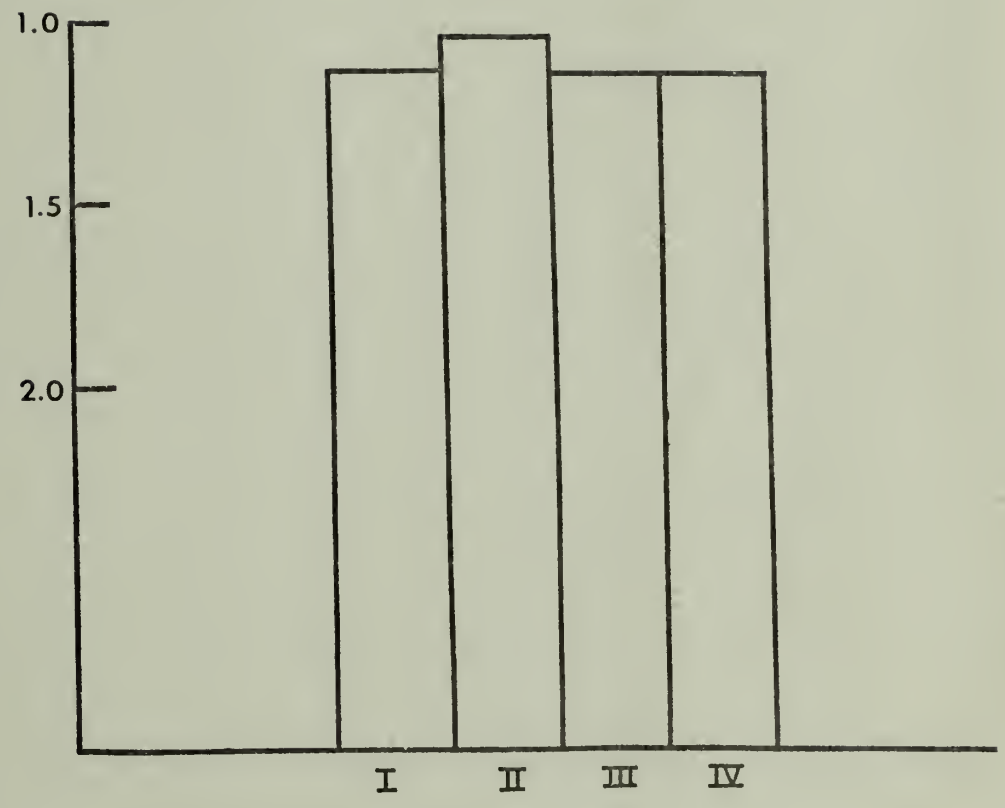

Figure 4. Leadership awareness by historical period.

The analysis of variance also revealed significant interactions between geographical region and sex, and between geographical region and SES ($p < .05$). Means and standard deviations for geographical regions by sex are presented in Table 16. Note that Southern males have higher leadership awareness than any other group. T-tests comparing sex by geographical region on leadership awareness revealed that within the Southern sample there was a significant difference ($t = 4.13$, $p < .001$).

Geographical region by social class interaction effect was significant ($F = 4.41$, $p < .05$). Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 17. Figure 5 demonstrates their interaction. The higher social class in the South was more aware of Black leadership. T-test comparison of the SES groups by geographical region on leadership awareness, included in Table 17, revealed that the SES groups were significantly different among the Southern sample ($p < .001$). The sex by social interaction effect was also significant ($F = 4.13$, $p < .05$). Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 18. Figure 6 demonstrates their interaction. High SES males were more aware than any other group but, only slightly more aware than high SES females. T-tests, included in Table 18, comparing social class groups by sex on leadership awareness revealed significant differences among males ($p < .05$) and females ($p < .001$). The analysis of variance in Table 14 revealed that the sex by negroidness interaction

Table 16

Means and Standard Deviations for Leadership Awareness by Geographical Region and Sex. T Values Are Indicated by Sex.

Geographical Region	Sex	Means	SDS	T between sex
North	male	1.07	27.05	1.99
	female	1.07	27.05	
South	male	1.04	.21	4.03***
	female	1.25	.44	

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

Table 17

Means and Standard Deviations for Leadership Awareness by Geographical Region and Social Class. T Values Are Indicated by Social Class

Geographical Region	SES	Means	SDs	T between SES
North	high	1.03	.17	1.99
	low	1.12	.33	
South	high	1.01	.12	4.52***
	low	1.28	.45	

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

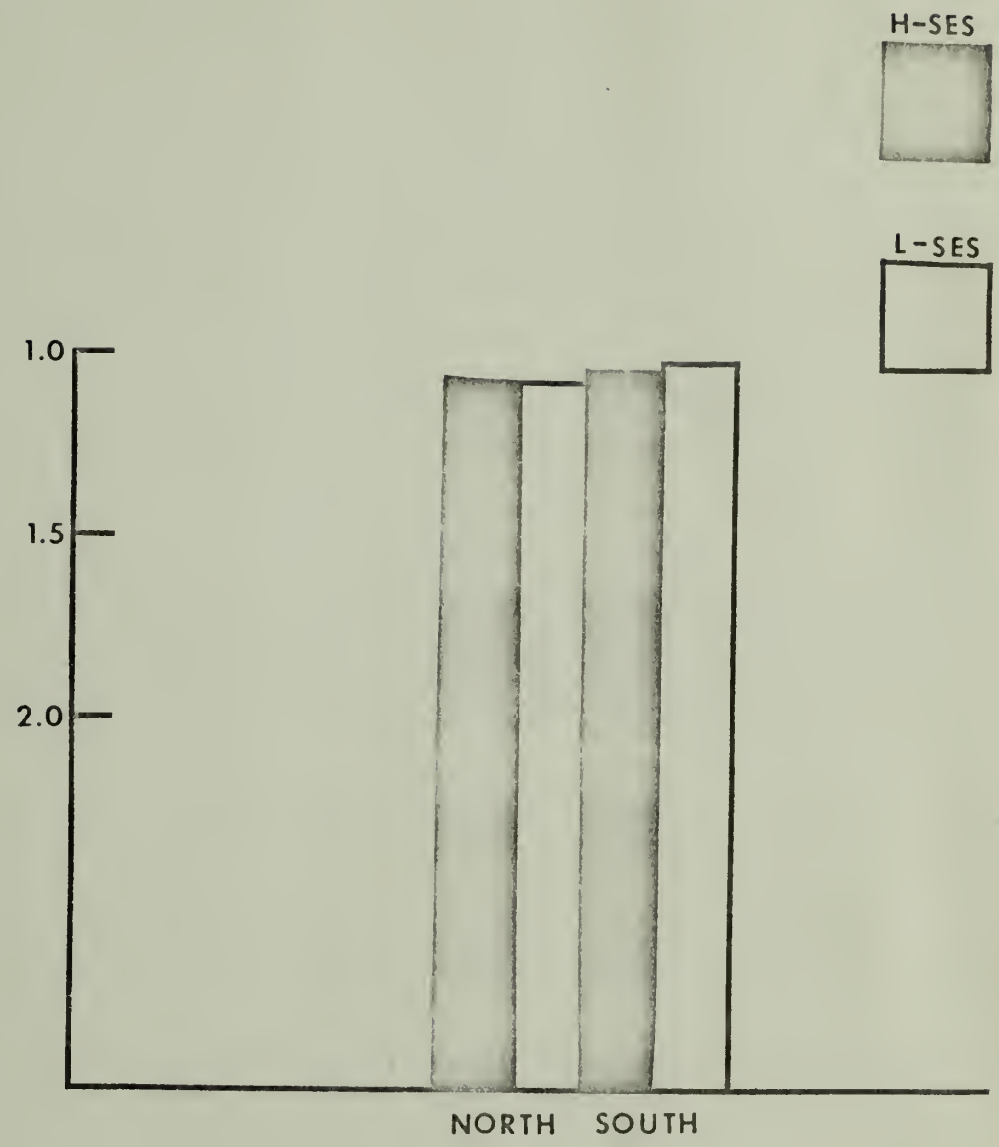

Figure 5. Geographical region by SES

Table 18

Means and Standard Deviations for Leadership Awareness by Sex and Social Class

Sex	SES	Means	SDs	T between SES
male	high	1.01	.12	2.30*
	low	1.11	.32	
female	high	1.03	.18	4.13***
	low	1.27	.45	

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

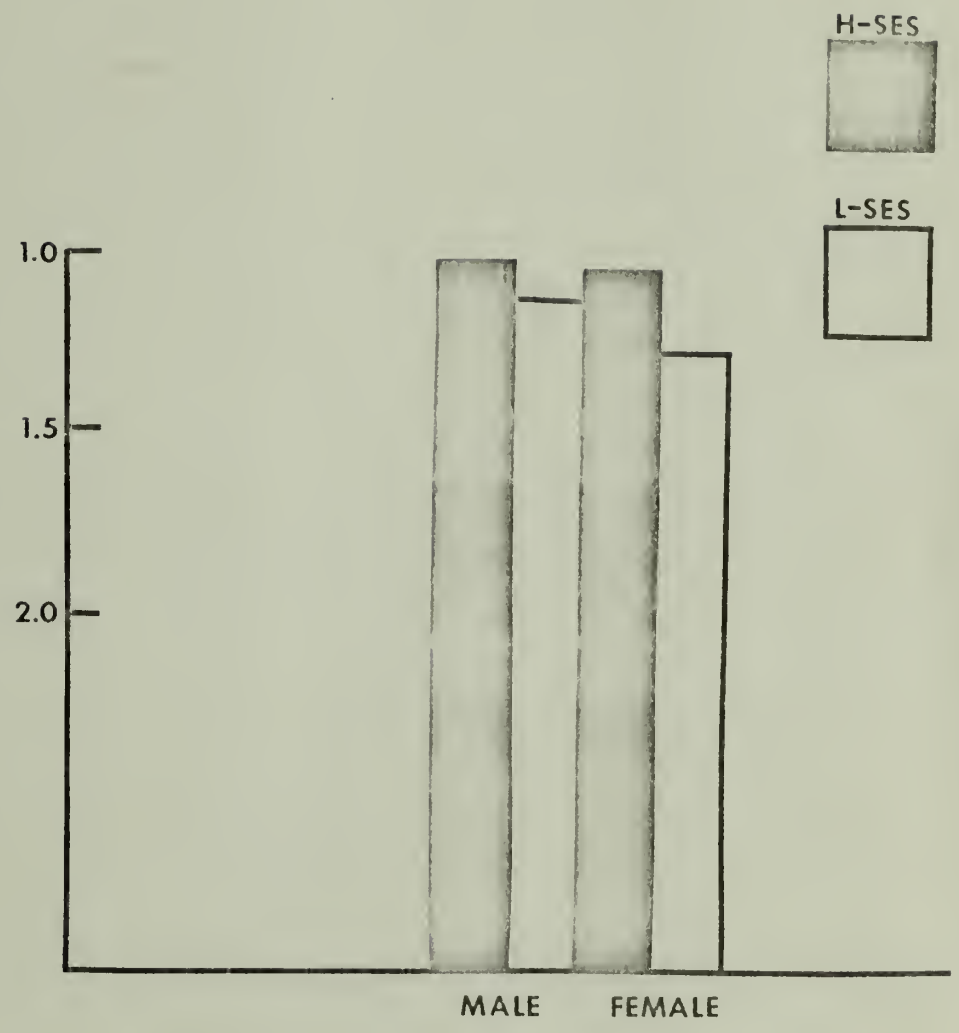

Figure 6. Sex by SES interaction.

effect on leadership awareness was significant ($F = 4.37$, $p < .05$). Means and standard deviations, presented in Table 19, revealed that males low in negroidness were more aware of Black leadership. The low negroidness group was more aware than people high in negroidness. Figure 7 demonstrates their interactions. T-tests comparing sex by negroidness on leadership awareness, included in Table 19, were not significant.

From the analyses above, significant variations in leadership awareness was reflected. All of the main effects were significant except negroidness. The interaction of geographical region by sex was significant ($p < .05$). The other higher order interactions: geographical region by social class, sex by social class and sex by negroidness were all significant ($p < .05$). All t-tests were significant except in the sex by negroid interaction. No other significance was noted.

Table 19

Means and Standard Deviations for Leadership Awareness by Sex and Negroidness

Sex	Negroidness	Means	SDs	T between Negroidness
male	low	1.10	.31	2.22
	high	1.18	.12	
female	low	1.14	.35	.71
	high	1.18	.39	

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

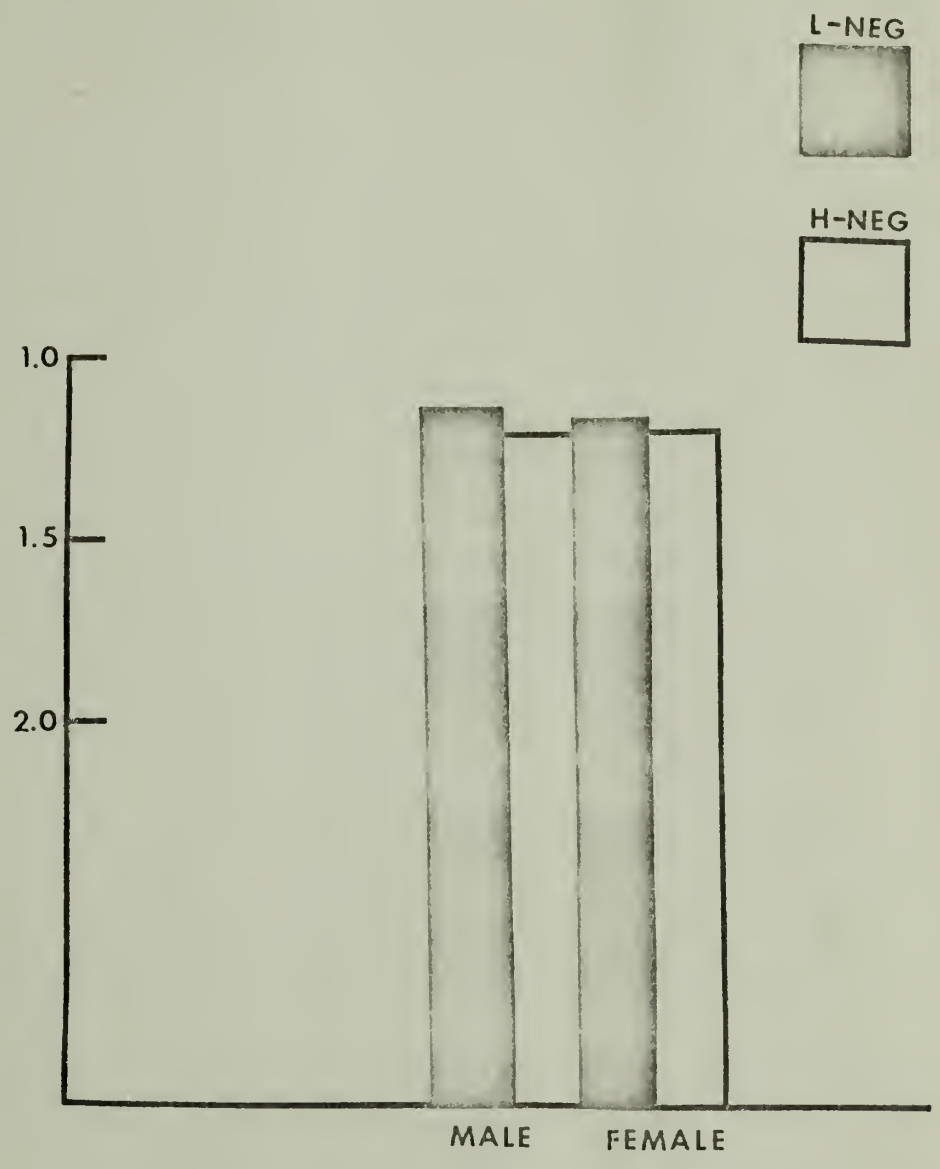

Figure 7. Sex by negroidness interaction.

C H A P T E R I V

DISCUSSION

The format for discussion will adhere to the structure found in Chapter III, that is, by the psychological measures: racial pride, attitudes toward Black leadership, and the leadership awareness index.

The most striking result was no relationship between racial pride and three demographic variables: sex, social class (SES) and negroidness (skin color/physical features). In past studies these variables reflected significantly to aspects of racial identification. The emergence of main effects of attitudes toward Black leadership and leadership awareness appear to indicate that the elderly are more similar in their attitudes regarding in-group feelings but differ significantly in response to external situations. It may imply that what the Black elderly might express and feel inside themselves are different dimensions and which may have been a consequence of a slave mentality passed down from one generation to the next, perhaps as a defensive mechanism. As one male respondent from the South commented: "You have to be careful what you say around whites and you can't let them know what you are thinking about. . .you never know what might happen."

Racial Pride

Three of the four main hypotheses relating to increase of racial pride over historical periods were supported. The fourth hypothesis which assumed an increase of racial pride from the Black power to the Black nationalist periods was not supported.

The main determinants for increases in racial pride appeared externally influenced and strongly dependent upon historical events. When asked the nature of the increase many respondents reported it as a function of the advances made by the "race" toward equality. A sixty-seven year old Southern lady responded: "The race was doing something." An elderly man from the South reported: "Slavery was nothing to be proud of, there was a lot we could not do, but now it's different; I remember when you couldn't eat in the restaurant downtown, now you can."

Others expressed less externally motivated attitudes. A seventy-year-old Southern lady said, "I don't know nothing about any body, I mind my own business. . .I've always been proud of being colored. . . . No, I felt the same way, I never changed. I've always been proud." When the same lady was asked about Dr. King, she again responded, "I don't know, I heard people talk about him. I just mind my own business." A sixty-five year old professional from the North commented: "I was proud of being Black. . .but Black people during that

time (segregation period) were not proud."

Consistent with the hypothesis, and as expressed above, historical events and/or external factors, had a significant effect on racial pride. It is, therefore, understandable why the integration and Black power periods were rated the highest. It was a time when Black people were both the most active politically and given the most national attention. It was also the time when Black awareness was at its peak (Brink & Harris, 1966; Lomax, 1967). Since the 1960s, there was a relative decrease in the news media covering Black political movements and a relative increase in news coverage of crime among Black people. With the possible exception of Roy Wilkins and Jesse Jackson, the elderly is presently uninformed of the presence of Black national leadership. Consistent with this suppression of the news media, Black politicians are not getting the kinds of coverage they once did in the 1960s. One lady from the South commented: "Dr. King was a saviour and there's no one to come along since his death."

The behavior of young Blacks appear to affect racial pride among the elderly. One respondent seriously questioned whether or not Blacks during the 1970s were more racially proud than they were during the Black power period. A seventy-one year old lady from the North said: "You can't go out anymore for fear of getting robbed. . . . The kids, today, aren't proud of being Black. . .how can they when they

get into so much trouble." This also coincides with Kent (1971) who reports how the elderly are easily vulnerable to attacks by youths.

Another factor affecting racial pride among the Black elderly is Black ideological differences. Militancy was, for most respondents, given negative comments. A sixty-seven year old man from the Northern sample commented: "Black Panthers?. . .aren't they that militant bunch? They're nothing but hoodlums." Militancy, for this sample, was highly associated with violence and it was this aspect of militancy they most often disagreed with. Kent (1971) concludes the Black elderly's ambivalence toward the Black revolution. On the one hand they admire the courage of many young Blacks and could support part of their ideologies but not other parts.

A lack of a significant main effects tends to support the notion that the Black elderly are becoming more similar in their views of themselves and other Black people. This trend is reflected in Table 9 in Chapter Three. The table reveals a decrease of standard deviations over historical periods. This trend, expressed in similarities of in-group identification and racial pride, has found support in previous studies with youths (Caplan, 1970; Cross, 1971; Gift, 1970; Golin, 1971; Gore & Rottee, 1963; Ward, 1972).

The effects of skin color difference and social class standing in another study with 544 United States Black and African students were not significant with respect to Black

racial identity (Cheek, 1970).

High racial pride among the Southern sample was evident. The Black elderly in the South were less likely to ascribe negative feelings toward other Blacks than subjects in the Northern sample. Respondents in the North were more likely to attribute positive attitudes toward southern Blacks. These findings are somewhat inconsistent with previous findings (Crain & Weisman, 1972; Karon, 1958). A reasonable explanation is that integration both educational and public was focused in the South and undoubtedly had very positive consequences. The next section examines the influential role of Black leadership as well as its relationship to racial pride and historical events.

Attitudes toward Black Leadership

The general assumption that there would be changes in attitude toward Black leadership was supported.

Leadership, as viewed by many of the Black elderly in this sample, is very essential. Leaders are viewed as individuals who most often take the forefront in fighting against injustices. Most importantly, the leader must be educated, unselfish, above reproach and easily accessible to people who have great trust in his capacities. A leader is also looked upon as being highly respected and is usually considered a model, exemplifying everything his constituents are not. In

sum, the Black leader is the most important and responsible individual in the Black community. A seventy-five-year-old man from the South summed it: "You've got to have a leader." (Kind of person?) ". . .an educated person. . ." (Why?) ". . .because people won't respect him or they'd think he doesn't know what he's doing." (Why a leader?) ". . .because you can't do it by yourself. . .you got to have a spokesman, someone to speak up for your rights." (What prevents a group from getting together to fight for their own rights?) "It won't work." (What did you think of Jesse Jackson as a leader?) "I don't know, I really don't trust him." (Why?) "I think he is more interested in getting ahead than helping colored people. . .now take Ralph Abernathy, while those people were living in those tents (in Washington, D.C.) he was sleeping in a fine hotel. . . . He should have been right there with them." A seventy-five year old lady from the Northern sample expressed this widespread view of Dr. Martin Luther King: "He was a Moses, a Black Mesiah, a Saviour of his people." (What, if any, contribution?) "Contribution? He was a martyr, he gave his life . . . . When they killed him everything started going down . . .if he had been alive, things would have been different . . . ."

Many of the respondents perceived whites as oppressive individuals who would stop at nothing to keep Black people from getting ahead. This interesting remark often came up

when they were asked: "What did whites think of him [leader]." "You know what they thought of him, they didn't like him. . .because he was trying to help colored people." Some felt whites respected Dr. King as a leader, others felt he was assassinated because he was a very effective Black leader.

A bar graph presented in Figure 2 in Chapter Three demonstrates fluctuations in attitudes toward Black leadership. The low assessment of leadership during the Black power period was a function of ideological differences. In the Black power period, Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael were evaluated. Carmichael received a scale score of 36.0, the lowest assessment, and Malcolm X received a scale score of 13.5, a moderate assessment. This drastically affected the results. What is interesting was the process by which the evaluations were made. The elderly thought very highly of Stokely Carmichael until he became a militant and began expressing "Black Power". The nature of his departure from the national scene was another factor the elderly didn't like. A sixty-nine year old man from the Southern sample expressed views of others in the sample: "Stokely was all right when he was with Dr. King, but when he started talking about that Black power stuff, I was really disappointed in him. . . . Another reason why I didn't like Stokely was because he really wasn't interested in helping Negroes, he was only out for himself. . .isn't he the one that married that African singer? He probably married her for her money. . . . That clown. . .he really showed his

color. . .besides he wasn't one of us [Afro-Americans] anyway."

The elderly were very consistent in their evaluations of Black leaders. Generally, if they felt positively about the leader, their ratings were more objective. Carmichael's score was an example of a subjective scoring. Although many of the elderly recognized Carmichael's contribution, he was nonetheless rated negatively primarily on the basis of his personal life and ideology. Malcolm X's scoring was retrospective and highly influenced by his speeches and books written about him after his death. Had this study been conducted ten years ago, he may have perhaps received a lower assessment. A sixty-five year old Northern lady summed many of the elderly's views of Malcolm X in this comment: "When Malcolm X was alive, I didn't like him. I thought he was too militant especially when he preached violence. . . . I abhor violence. . .but since I have started reading his books, I now realize he was a great man."

As demonstrated in Table 20 of this chapter, the elderly evaluated more conservative leaders higher than the more militant leaders. The results are consistent with Figure 3 which revealed that the highest assessment of Black leaders was made during the integration period, the most conservative phase of the Black revolution.

The significance of social class standing (SES) as a main effect for positive attitudes toward Black leadership is

Table 20

Order of Leadership Preference
by Geographical Regions

North		South	
1.	Roy Wilkins	1.	Jesse Jackson
2.	Jesse Jackson	2.	Roy Wilkins
3.	Marcus Garvey	3.	Thurgood Marshall
4.	Hon. Elijah Muhammad	4.	Hon. Elijah Muhammad
5.	Malcolm X	5.	W.E.B. DuBois
6.	Thurgood Marshall	6.	Malcolm X
7.	W.E.B. DuBois	7.	Marcus Garvey
8.	Stokely Carmichael	8.	Stokely Carmichael

consistent with other historical literature (Davis, Gardner, & Gardner, 1965; DuBois, 1899; Frazier, 1957; Purdue, 1973; Powdermaker, 1968). The results are inconsistent with a more recent research study with college students (Cheek, 1972). This appears to support the notion that social class standing is not presently a reliable predictor of racially related phenomena. Data from the leadership awareness index, discussed below, are also inconsistent with the Cheek study. However, it should be noted that Cheek's subjects were fifty to sixty years younger than subjects in this study.

Leadership Awareness

The general hypothesis indicating changes in leadership awareness was supported. All of the main effects except negroidness (skin color/physical features) were significant. The overall lack of significance of negroidness might indicate how much the effects of the concept "Black is beautiful" has deemphasized the importance of skin color among Black people (Cheek, 1972). Another explanation for this is that it could also be a factor of aging: the Black elderly may no longer attribute importance to past learned values.

The Southern sample was significantly more aware of leadership than the Northern sample. This was probably related to the direct effects of the civil rights movement concentrated in the South. The Black man in the South has under-

gone some change since the Black revolution. People in the Southern sample were more politically active than their Northern counterparts. One man reflected this change: "Things are different and better now than they used to be. We have good leaders who are effective. . . . More people are voting, this has helped us to get what we've wanted. . . Did you hear that we stopped a segregationist from getting elected?"

A geographical region by social class interaction was significant and revealed higher leadership awareness among males in the upper SES in the South. This finding should be viewed with caution since individuals from the upper SES in the South tend to be the leaders. The mere nature of their political and social positions alone provide them with a greater opportunity of knowing national leaders personally. This was the case for several people in this sample.

The relative decrease in awareness tends to be a function, again, of ideological differences and/or a lack of news coverage of Black leaders. A sixty-nine year old man from the Southern sample remarked: "We didn't know about Black history or leaders like you do today; if we did, we may have known a little more a little earlier."

Implications

There is so very little we know about the Black elderly--

their feelings, what is important to them, how they evaluate themselves and others, their fears, hopes and dreams, whether or not age affects old values, psychological sets and whether externality of control, while present in may individuals, becomes more pronounced with the aging process.

Racial pride among Afro-American elderly in this sample appeared to have had a rather unique dimension with a process different from how they evaluate and express feelings about themselves and their external surroundings. This implies a part of the self that others observe and evaluate, a part of the self rarely observed by and often misinterpreted by others, a part of the individual infrequently expressed overtly or, perhaps, a part which the individual is unaware of. Viewing racial pride from this perspective is like being in a secret society where only the members are aware of the truth, a truth which is often different from or distorted by outsiders. I was convinced, in some interviews, that I was told facts which would have never been revealed to an out-group person. An eighty year old lady asked me to turn off the tape recorder while she expressed certain opinions which to me, at the time, seemed trivial, but obviously, to the lady, it was meaningful.

The notion relating to the issue of Black-for-Black--Black psychologist for Black people, Black interviewer for Black viewee--implies that, whatever a Black client is going to admit to an out-group member is going to be, somehow,

distorted. The concept of Black submissive behavior to whites so often reported in the past literature, passive aggressive behaviors (Genovese, 1971), an inability to overtly express hostile feelings to whites (Meier & Radwick, 1966) or by just "foolin white folks" seems related to a notion that Black people have a secret and are very cautious about who they entrust it too. This implies the possibility of racial pride being divided into two component parts, race and pride. Race would therefore entail all external attributes encompassing such factors as identification, in-group reaction to in-group, in-group reaction to out-group, and out-group reaction to in-group. Pride on the other hand could, therefore, be a measure of self-esteem to which such psychological factors as passive-aggressive behaviors, denial, depression, low expectation and low self-esteem are related.

Much of the above--the big secret, external locus of control and the psychological factors--were effective defense mechanisms that prevented many Afro-Americans from becoming psychotic. What is also interesting about the results is that it implies that coping styles (i.e. passive aggressive behaviors) though amenable to external influences, remain relatively stable over time.

If one speculates what would occur if Blacks became more internal in the locus of control, it would mean that the oppressive society would have to retaliate in defense of its relative positions, by keeping the "Negro in his place".

Black people, in turn, would have to make a choice of either fighting back or resubmitting to oppression. Perhaps, the Afro-American elderly's relatively high assessment of Malcolm X implies that they viewed a verbal hard line approach to racism and dedication to other Black people as viable equality strategies for younger Blacks to pursue in American society.

Limitations

A typical psycho-historical approach to studying the relationship between the individual and social change, as utilized by Erickson (1958, 1968) involves a case history approach. This study differs by its use of the survey method to test retrospective data which is usually amenable to distortions through relative influences of recent and recent-past historical events in this study, the possibility of contamination was addressed by using a structured interview that both followed a chronological sequence and kept the respondent focused on relevant issues within each period.

A related limitation has to do with the focus of the study on elderly respondents. Aging may lead to increased lapses in memory, loosenings of associations and idiosyncratic thinking. Accordingly, potential respondents who demonstrated significant difficulties in this area were eliminated. While this screening may introduce sampling biases into the study,

cogent intellectual functioning was necessary for the kind of data that were needed.

This study clearly cannot serve as a basis for statistical generalizations to Afro-Americans. The sampling process was neither random nor clearly representative. Additionally a number of people who were contacted declined to participate. And finally the samples, while large enough to allow subgroup comparisons, are still relatively small to represent populations in general.

This study, then, is presented as an exploratory investigation of racial pride for a specific sampling of elderly Afro-Americans. The findings are offered as a significant statement by elderly Afro-Americans and as a basis for further study into relevant issues.

REFERENCES

Aptheker, H. Afro-American history: The modern era. Secacus, New Jersey: Citadel Press, 1973.

Aptheker, H. American negro slave revolts. New York: International Publishers, 1970.

Bayliss, J. F. Black slave narratives. New York: McMillan, 1970.

Bernard, J. Marriage and family among negroes. Englewood, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Billingsly, A. Black families in white America. Englewood, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968.

Bond, J. & Seale, B. Other voides, other strategies: An interview with Julian Bond and Bobby Seale. In A. Littleton & H. Burger (eds.) Black viewpoints. New York: New American Library, 1971.

Botkin, R. A. (ed.) Lay my burden down: A folk history of slavery. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945.

Brink, W. & Harris, L. Black and white. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1966.

Brink, W. & Harris, L. The negro revolution in America. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1969.

Caplan, N. The new ghetto man: A review of recent empirical studies. Journal of Social Issues, 1970, 26, 59-74.

Caplan, N. & Paige, J. A study of ghetto rioters. Scientific American, 1968, 219, 15-21.

Cheek, D. Black ethnic identity as related to skin color, social class and elected variables. Dissertation Abstracts International, 1972, 33(1-A), 397.

Clark, K. B. & Clark, M. K. The development of consciousness of self and the emergence of racial identification in negro school children. Journal of Social Psychology, 1939, 10, 591-599.

Crain, R. L. & Weisman, C. Discrimination, personality and achievement. New York: Seminar Press, 1972.

Cross, W. E., Jr. Discovering the black referent: The psychology of black liberation. In V. J. Dixon & B. Foston (eds.) Beyond black and white. Boston: Atlantic-Little Brown, 1971.

Damer, E. When the klu klux rode. Freeport, New York: Libraries Press, 1972.

Davis, A., Gardner, B., & Gardner, M. Deep south. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Davis, A. Reflections of the black woman's role in the community of slaves. The Black Scholar, 1971, 3, 3-15.

Dollard, J. Caste and class in a southern town. New York: Harper, 1939.

Douglas, F. No progress without a struggle. In F. B. Barbour (ed.) The black power revolt. Boston: Sargent, 1968.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (ed.) The negro American family, his history and literature. New York: Arno Press and New

York Times, 1968.

Du Bois, W. E. B. The Philadelphia negro. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1899.

Ferguson, G. The psychology of the negro. Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1970.

Forward, Z. R. & Williams, J. T. Internal-external control and black militancy. Journal of Social Issues, 1970, 26, 75-92.

Franklin, J. H. From slavery to freedom. New York: Knoff, 1961.

Frazier, E. F. Black bourgeoisie: The rise of the new middle class. New York: The Free Press, 1957.

Frazier, E. F. The negro family in the United States. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Georgia Writers Project. Drums and shadow: Survival studies among the Georgia coastal negroes. New York: Doubleday, 1972.

Gift, M. D. Self-concept and social change among black youth. Dissertation Abstracts International, 1971. 32(1-A).

Goldman, P. Report from black America. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970.

Grier, W. H. & Cobbs, P. M. Black rage. New York: Basic Books, 1968.

Herzoz, E. & Sudia, C. Fatherless homes: A review of research. Children, 1968, 15, 177-182.

Hraba, J. & Grant, G. Black is beautiful: A reexamination of racial preference and identification. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1970, 16, 398-402.

Jackson, J. J. Negro aged: Toward need research in social gerontology. The Gerontologist, 1971, 11, 52-57.

Jackson, J. J. Social gerontology and the negro: A review. The Gerontologist, 1967, 7, 168-178.

Johnson, C. The negro American in civilization. New York: Holt, 1930.

Kardiner, A. & Ovesey, L. The mark of oppression: Explorations in the personality of the American negro. New York: Meridian, 1962.

Karon, B. The negro personality. New York: Springer, 1958.

Kerner, O. et al. Report on the national advisory commission on civil disorders. New York: Banton Books, 1968.

Lester, J. To be a slave. New York: Dell, 1970.

Lomax, L. The negro revolt. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.

Marx, G. T. Protest and prejudice: A study of belief in the black community. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.

Melzer, J. In their own words. New York: Cromwell, 1965.

Myrdal, G. An American dilemma. New York: Harper and Row, 1944.

National Urban League. Double jeopardy: The older negro in America today. New York City, 1965.

Ottley, R. & Weatherby, W. J. (eds.) The negro in New York:

An informal social history, 1626-1940. New York: Praeger, 1967.

Perdue, R. E. The negro in Savannah, 1865-1900. New York: Exposition Press, 1973.

Pettigrew, T. F. A profile of the negro American. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1964.

Poussaint, A. The negro American: His self image and integration. Journal of the National Medical Association, 1966, 58, 419-423.

Powdermaker, H. After freedom: A cultural study of the deep south. New York: Atheneus, 1968.

Quarles, B. The negro in the American revolution. North Carolina: Chapel Hill, 1961.

Rawick, G. P. The American slave: Georgia narratives, Vol. 12. Westport, Connecticut: 1972.

Reuter, E. B. The mulatto in the United States. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969.

Schuman, H. & Converse, J. The effects of black and white interviewers on black responses. Public Opinion Quarterly, 1971, 35, 44-48.

Staples, R. The myth of the lback matriarchy. The Black Scholar, 1970, 1, 8-16.

Sutherland, R. L. Color, class and personality. Washington, D.C.: Prentice-Hall, 1942.

Thompson, D. C. The negro leadership class. Englewood, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963.

Vincent, C. Implications of changes in male-female role expectations for interpreting M-F scores. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1966, 28, 196-199.

Ward, S. & Braun, J. Self-esteem and racial preference in black children. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1972, 42, 644-647.

Willie, C. The family life of black people. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill Company, 1970.

X, Malcolm. By any means necessary. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970.

Yetman, N. Voices from slavery. New York: Holt, 1970.

APPENDIX I

Case Examples

The analysis of group data, as found in the text of this thesis, is an important means of arriving at a composite picture of human behavior. Still the nature of individual differences and "gestalts" may be lost in such analyses. This section presents case examples of how various aspects of this study were expressed in particular individuals. The data come from the interview guide described in Appendix II.

Four cases are presented, two from both the Northern and Southern samples. These cases do not, by far, reflect typical viewpoints of elderly Afro-Americans. However, they do reveal some insight into the moods, feelings and reactions of a group of people whose lives have been affected by historical events.

Case One

Mr. A. is an 80-year-old retired Civil Servant who is a native of Southerntown. He holds a bachelor's degree in education and has worked as a teacher a few years before becoming a clerk. His primary reason for leaving the classroom was economic. He is still very active in the community and is now on the board of trustees of a local bank. He is married and his wife is a retired teacher with a master's degree in education.

His father had been a coachman with an 8th grade education. His mother with the same amount of education as the father, spent her usual day taking in laundry for local whites as she fulfilled her responsibilities as both a housewife and mother.

As a child, as did most Black people in his age group living in Southerntown, he grew up in a racially mixed neighborhood. He described it as a Black-Irish neighborhood: "The kids, both black and white, played with each other as children, but when we grew up, things were different. . . . We did not invade each others' territories." As he grew up, his feelings of being Black were described as unremarkable: "I felt as good as anybody." He was, as a child, embarrassed of some Black people's behavior in public. This was usually attributable to Blacks talking loudly in public places: "They should have maintained themselves in public with re-

spect since all Blacks were viewed by whites in the same manner." Mr. A was very dark in skin color and he stated that he never wished he was born lighter.

He described his first memory of being discriminated as a Black person at age 21. He commented: "I didn't feel it before because we were conditioned to separation. . . . Jim Crow was a way of life and could not be changed, at least not by individual efforts." Like most Blacks in Southerntown, direct discrimination was usually experienced as a consequence of direct encounters with whites.

While in his twenties, he felt favorably about talking about Black people in front of whites. His first recollections of the NAACP were positive: "We needed an organization like that." At age twenty-two, he picketed to prevent the movie Birth of a Nation from being shown and actively participated in other Civil Rights activities during this time. In his comments about NAACP protests in the early 1920, he says: "Local merchants, though illiterate, made great contributions because they were courageous and they fought together."

As he grew older, his recollections of the educational process were: "I never gave it much thought [to Blacks and whites attending the same grade schools] but I did write a paper in high school entitled "Negro teachers for Negro schools". . . . I felt that Negro teachers were more dedicated."

Mr. A remembers the race riots after World War II: "Race riots were helpful because they exposed the country to the facts of how Negro soldiers were really treated by white Americans after fighting for their country."

As much as Mr. A could remember, he comments: "I think my parents' generation had faith in themselves and proud of their race. . . . I think I felt more proud of being Black than they did."

During the school desegregation movement: "I felt that desegregation of public schools was a good idea. . . . If I had grandchildren, I would have readily volunteered them to initially integrate a white school." As he watched the news coverage of school desegregation on television: "I felt embarrassed that people in this country could act this way. . . I was also very angry. . . . As I look back, I think this made Blacks more proud of themselves and I'm sure they were inspired by the courage of the Black children and their parents who participated."

Mr. A has worked with the now Chief Justice Marshall and Roy Wilkins in various NAACP projects but felt that Dr. Martin Luther King was the most outstanding crusader at that time. "Black people loved him like a messiah and many whites respected him but others feared him." In response to Rosa Parks, he commented: "Rosa Parks did a marvelous job but I don't think I could have had the courage she had." He summarizes the integration period this way: "Demonstrations

were all useful, we learned to work together, but we (Blacks and whites) became suspicious of one another. . .the Civil Rights Movement did not die with the assassination of Dr. King, it showed down a bit; but because of him, we have continued to make progress."

Among the leaders who were active during the Black power period, Mr. A felt that Adam Clayton Powell made the greatest contribution to the Black cause and Malcolm X was rated second. He thought that Stokely Carmichael's contribution was "enforcing a need for change". He felt the riots of the late 1960s were justified and he was in sympathy with the participants.

Mr. A had positive feelings toward the late Honorable Elijah Muhammed and his followers: "Mr. Muhammed's impact on Black youths and the Black community are highly commendable . . .although I think Rev. Jesse Jackson is a good leader and is making a great contribution, I would have to rate him second to Mr. Muhammed." Mr. A knew nothing of Huey P. Newton or the Black Panther Party.

On Black pride, Mr. A comments: "I think Black people are prouder now that they have ever been because we have gained a lot of ground since I was a kid. . . . I am certainly proud of my people and glad that God has spared me to live long enough to see these changes. . .we have a long way to go but I think we will make it."

Mr. A's advice to Black youth was to; 1) believe in

self; 2) have concern and compassion for others; and 3) do work for humanity instead of a particular race "but never forget your heritage and be proud of who you are".

Case Two

Mrs. B is a seventy-year-old lady who has been living in Southerntown all of her life. Her father, once a farmer, moved to Southerntown shortly before Mrs. B was born. Like her father, Mrs. B's mother had less than an 8th grade education. Her mother was a housewife but occasionally took in laundry at home for whites. Mrs. B had, also, less than an 8th grade education and comments: "Back in those days, you only went to the 8th grade. If you were lucky. Most of the time you had to work to help your family survive." After leaving school, she worked as a maid and later worked in a small privately owned business.

Mrs. B and her husband, a few years her senior, live alone and now own their home. Mr. B, from the same educational background was, before retirement, also an unskilled worker in various contexts (e.g., roofer, machinist, etc.).

Mrs. B grew up in the Black section of Southerntown. She felt that she has always been discriminated against. "Blacks were always called 'niggers' and you had to go to the back door. If they (whites) gave you lunch they gave it to you outside, never inside. . . I didn't feel this at an

early age. . .when I got older, I felt like I was treated like a dog. I told my parents about an incident that happened when I was nine years old but they told me that it was the best they could do, they were above us, and we had to do what they said." She further comments: "I always felt good about being Black because God intended it that way, I didn't like the treatment, but I didn't want to be white. . .I prefer to be called 'colored' not 'nigger'." She admits to being embarrassed by some Black people's behavior in public. "All that loud talking, whites already think we're animals anyway, we don't need those people proving it." About the amount of white blood: "I don't have any." Regarding encounters with whites in terms of other Black people: "I always felt good about holding up the race. . .I never down them." Comments about whites when they were not around were: "One day, God would straighten things out. . .Ethiopia would spread its wings; God said that in the bible (Revelations). . .Remember, the Ethiopians were down one time; the same is going to happen to us."

Mrs. B first heard about the NAACP at the age of twenty-eight. Her first thoughts were relatively negative "very few people around here knew anything about it." She further states: "The NAACP didn't look promising, it was small and it seemed that the Blacks were not taking to it. . . it was a conservative organization." Mrs. B has been a member for twenty-five years and is now fairly active.

Although she had not heard of either DuBois or Garvey, she knew of Booker T. Washington and felt he made a great contribution but commented: "Whites saw him as another nigger." She also felt that Thurgood Marshall was a good leader and although she was proud he was a supreme court judge, his greatest contribution, she felt, was in the area of school desegregation.

Mrs. B was in favor of school desegregation and stated: "We are all god's people. . .I would have volunteered my grand-child to desegregate the school." In reaction to protesting whites: "The whites were angry because they couldn't take it. . .they always felt they were better. . . . They thought we were poison ivy." Her relationship with local whites was affected by protests of school desegregation: "I felt very angry about the situation and I would tell them (whites). . . . When whites degraded Blacks, I laid it on the table, I was never afraid because I felt just as good." Between 1954 and 1961, Mrs. B felt that "Blacks became more proud because they became more enlightened."

Mrs. B had very positive feelings toward Roy Wilkins and had once seen him at a church meeting. She felt that Dr. Martin Luther King was wonderful: "He was number one, he gave his all; he gave his life always for the betterment of colored people. . . . His dreams came true. . . . He was the Moses. . . . I saw him at a meeting." She felt that whites were divided in their feelings about Dr. King: "Some

liked him and some felt he was too smart." She identified with Mrs. Rosa Parks saying: "I would have done the same thing if I was in that situation. . . . My granddaughter wrote a paper about her and did a good job."

She was in favor of Civil Rights demonstrations and admired those who participated but she didn't like the violence. Overall, Mrs. B felt they were helpful. As a consequence, she felt that Black people were getting together and were more proud of themselves than before. Around this time, she preferred to be called Black instead of Negro or colored commenting: "I liked the word because white people couldn't say Negro or nigger, but they could say Black."

Mrs. B felt that Blacks would never achieve true freedom until they worked closer together.

Among the leaders of the Black nationalist period, Mrs. B highly evaluated Rev. Jesse Jackson and felt that the late Honorable Elijah Muhammed was an ineffective leader who made no contribution and who whites viewed as a pretender. Although she did not know Huey P. Newton, she thought the Black Panther Party was composed of a "bunch of hoodlums." She ended her comments about the Black Panthers by stating: "I don't like violence."

Mrs. B's advice to young Blacks was: 1) "Be a man, stand on your own two feet, and feel that you are just as good as any person"; 2) "get more education"; and 3) "Climb the ladder and go the right way."

Case Three

Mr. C is a 68-year-old man who was born in and has always lived in Northerntown. His father was a laborer with an 8th grade education. His mother completed the 9th grade and was a housewife. Mr. C is a retired musician. He initially entered the music field shortly after leaving school in the 10th grade. His wife was a high school graduate and is a retired clerk.

Mr. C grew up in a predominantly white neighborhood and attended integrated schools. He felt most discriminated at the age of twelve when he was run out of a neighborhood by whites. He later told his mother about it, and although she was mostly angry and did nothing about it, she advised him to stay out of the neighborhood. During this time, he felt bitter about being Black: "I felt Negroes got rotten deals . . . why wasn't I born white." As he grew older, he continued to feel discriminated against especially in public accomodations in Northerntown (e.g., movies, restaurants, employment and the Army). He commented: "I think I felt most discriminated against in the Army. . . . I felt awful and I wanted to prove that I was not just a nigger. . . I became company clerk. . .I always felt proud of myself, I just wanted a chance." Around the time he was growing up, he preferred to be called colored.

Mr. C had seen DuBois at a meeting and felt favorable

about him but felt most Blacks, at the time, thought he was ahead of his time. About Booker T. Washington: "If we had followed him, we would really be somewhere. . .farmers are in such demand today. . .I saw him at a gathering during founders day. Mr. C thought Marcus Garvey had a good idea, but like DuBois, was also ahead of his time. "I saw Garvey in a parade. . .he gave Negroes the idea to be self-supporting. . . . Whites thought he had too many ideas. . .felt he was too powerful, that's why they discredited him."

Mr. C recalls first hearing about the NAACP at the age of twenty-one. He was impressed with the organization and felt that they had good fundamental points. He remembered Walter White as being one of the key people during the early days of the organization.

His response to the riots between 1941 and 1946 was blaming migrated white Southerners for instigating riots: "White Southerners migrated north and upset the apple cart. . . . Northern whites had been trained to be nice but behind the scenes, they felt the same as Southerners (whites). . . . Some whites had missionary concepts but they hadn't fully accepted us. . .you can gain from whites but you must be careful."

Although Mr. C felt positive about such Black leaders as A. Phillip Randolph, Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins and Elijah Muhammed, he expressed negative feelings about Malcolm X and Stokley Carmichael. About Malcolm X; "The race didn't think

much of him because he came from prison, he had a blight over him. . .he tried in a mediocre way. . .who wants a criminal to lead you." On Carmichael: "he would sell you out." Overall, he says: "Things are getting better among Blacks, they are sticking together more but some jealousy still exists. . .I guess it takes time."

The church bombing in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1966 made Mr. C very angry: "They (whites) have always done this in the South to keep Blacks from making progress."

Mr. C's comments on the riots of the 1960's were: "We made a fool of ourselves through militancy. . .by becoming angry and emotional. I think the parties could have gotten together before they got to the boiling point. . .there was another alternative." He later commented: "I guess there was justification because there were no more alternatives. . . Even though I hate rioting, I think it gave Blacks more secure feelings." In response to progress since Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination: "I think we have continued to make progress, but I think we have been more together than in the past."

Mr. C's first reaction to some Black people calling themselves Black were: "I hate the word. . .we are not Black, it's bad enough that we say colored." In response to the "Afro" hairdo: "It's a reflection of the changing times. . .history repeating itself. . .I never really cared one way or the other about it."

In summing up Black pride, he commented: "I think Black people are prouder now than they ever have been and I think it reached its height during the Civil Rights Movement. . . . Since that time I don't think there has been any great increase but I don't think we have gone backwards either. . . . Pride is something no man can take away. . . . If I had to live my life all over again, I wouldn't want to be white, but I don't like being called Black because, look at me, I am not Black. . .I am a person like everyone else. . . . All I wanted was to have the same rights as anyone else. . . . My advice to young Blacks is to be good citizens and get your rights as American citizens."

Case Four

Mrs. D is a 65-year-old accounting technician and a native of Northerntown. Her husband, also a native of Northerntown, is a retired construction worker. Mrs. D's father attended two years of college but had to drop out, according to Mrs. D, because of economic reasons. For many years her father worked as a coachman and a chauffer. Mrs. D's mother completed the 8th grade and worked as a domestic.

Mrs. D grew up in a predominantly white neighborhood and attended integrated schools. Her earliest memory of being discriminated against as a Black person occurred at eight years old when she was unable to sit downstairs in a Northern-

town public theater. She states: "It did not bother me because that's the way it was, I knew I was colored and had to go upstairs. When I was older, around fourteen, I felt it was unfair. I couldn't do anything about it but feel embarrassed. . . .I told my mother and she said that's the way things were but maybe it would change. . .I felt allright after she explained it. . . . I felt no hassles in school except at graduation when I was not allowed to go to Washington, D.C., on a trip with the other seniors. . . . I think it was because of hotel accomodations. I passively accepted that and said, so what. . .I did feel I had a lot and could do just as much as someone with white skin. Just because you can't sit in a certain section or can't sleep in certain hotels, doesn't mean that you are any less a person."

Mrs. D felt that DuBois was a responsible and an effective person but made little impact on the poorer or less educated Blacks. Booker T. Washington, she says, was excellent because he told Blacks "they could use their head and hands." On Marcus Garvey, she commented: "Garvey had good ideas for his time. . . . Blacks saw him as a leader similar to Dr. King--to take them out of nothingness. . .but he did not go about it in the right way. . . . Whites were glad to take him away."

Mrs. D joined the NAACP at the age of fifteen. Her initial thoughts of the organization were: "I thought it was exclusively Black. . . . It was a society that many elite

belonged to." On the NAACP's effectiveness, she comments: "I think it (NAACP) has benefited Blacks because it has made them more aware of things."

Mrs. D remembered riots between 1941-1946 that were related to the local public transportation company's refusal to hire Black drivers. "The riots," she says, "were unfair. . . others were against Blacks for no reason. . . . Why can't Blacks have the same opportunities. . . . At the end of it all, the transit company put on Black drivers. Mrs. D was unsure if Black soldiers were better off being integrated with whites, but felt that integration of the Armed Forces was a step forward. She comments: "We have to live together."

Between 1900 and 1954, Mrs. D commented: "Some Blacks were proud. . . . At best it was a matter of feeling oppressed and not a matter of pride because many Blacks were unable to do what they felt they could do. . . . I think they were less proud than the generation before us. These people, even though they were domestics, were proud of whatever they could do for themselves. . .. My generation used being Black as an excuse and had less of a feeling of accomplishment. . . . I never downed myself."

Mrs. D not only felt that Justice Marshall was a responsible and an effective leader but a fighter for his people. She reflected: "He was able to do so much as a lawyer. . . . Whites put him on the Supreme Court to get him out of poli-

tics because they were afraid of him. . . . They thought he was too good."

On school desegregation, she said: "School desegregation in the south was a good idea because children learn from one another. . . . I've always gone to an integrated school and I've always felt it should have been that way. . .I don't know if I could have volunteered my children (to integrate a white school). . . . I probably would worry about possible physical harm or long term mental harm. . . . Of course, there is always security in a group. . . . I felt sick looking at how whites reacted because I didn't think whites knew why they wanted to be segregated." As she continues, she says: "Many of those kids were baited by their parents. . . . I was working with whites at the time and we had discussions . . . . Most felt as I did, that kids were not responsible without the parents. . . . It probably would have been more peaceful had it not been for the parents."

Mrs. D thought her generation felt Roy Wilkins was very effective but comments: "but the younger ones thought he was too soft spoken." On Dr. Martin Luther King, she says: "He was just something else. Many Blacks felt he was the Messiah . . . . He made you feel that whatever you wanted to be, you could be."

On Mrs. Rosa Parks, Mrs. D reflected: "I know how she felt, she was tired, her feet hurt and she wanted to sit down. . . . There comes a time when you can't be moved. She

acted in a way that I couldn't have acted."

The civil rights movement was viewed by Mrs. D as follows: "We needed the demonstration to move the world along . . . . The same occurred after World War II. . . . I was glad someone was doing something. . .people who participated were wonderful. . . . I'm glad my offsprings participated, I couldn't participate, my work deterred me. . . . I was working for the federal government."

Mrs. D said Malcolm X was a very good leader: "He was responsible and effective, that's why they killed him. . . . Whites felt he was an agitator." Mrs. D questioned Stokley Carmichael's effectiveness and sense of responsibility. "Blacks felt he was a rabble rouser."

On the riots of the late 1960s Mrs. D comments: "The riots were irresponsible on the part of Blacks. . .nothing can be accomplished except loss of life."

Although Mrs. D prefers to be called Negro first and Black second, she says: "If people want to be called Black, it's allright with me." On the "Afro" hairdo she comments: "I was astonished, but they I realized that our roots are in Africa. . . . I think it gave us more of a sense of pride."

Mrs. D praised the late Honorable Elijah Muhammed for his efforts and felt most Black people felt he was a good leader. Rev. Jesse Jackson was also highly evaluated. On Rev. Jackson, she states: "I think he is one of the most effective leaders we have today." Although Mrs. D did not know

about Huey P. Newton, she felt the efforts of the Black Panther party were useful, especially with the breakfast program.

She expressed her attitudes towards whites today: "My attitudes towards white have changed over the years. I feel contempt for many of them (whites). . . . I don't know why I feel that way now." She laughed and said: "My children call me the retarded militant because I'm almost ten years behind the times." Later on, she reflects: "You know, I do feel more proud of being Black now than I ever have."

To today's Black youths, Mrs. D says: "I would advise today's youth that the sky is the limit and they can do anything they want."

APPENDIX II

Interview Guide

NAME_____ID#_____ ID# 1-3___

First I would like to ask some background questions.

1. How old are you? Age_____ 4___

2. How long have you lived in (City)_____ City 5___

3. Where did you live before you moved here? (City)_____ Age 8, 9___

4. What was the highest level of education completed by your father? (Circle) Time 10, 11___

   1. Graduate or professional degree
      a. Specify degree(s) _____ _____
   2. College graduate
   3. Some College
   4. High school graduate
   5. 9-11 grade
   6. 8th grade or less

   12___

5. What is your father's occupation? or what job did he hold the longest? (RECORD AND CIRCLE CODE) 13___

   OCCUPATION:_____

   1. Professional (e.g. doctor, lawyer, teacher)
   2. Business (e.g., owned small business, insurance agent)
   3. Clerical (e.g., bookkeeper, secretary, postal worker)
   4. Skilled manual worker (e.g., carpenter, mechanic)
   5. Semi-skilled worker (e.g., machine operator, bartender)
   6. Unskilled worker (e.g., laborer, domestic)
   7. Other (SPECIFY)_____ 14___

6. What was the highest level of education completed by your mother? (Circle)

1. Graduate or professional degree
   a. Specify degree(s)
      _____
      _____
2. College graduate
3. Some college
4. High school graduate
5. 9-11 grade
6. 8th grade or less

7. What was your mother's/person who raised you occupation? 15____
(RECORD AND CIRCLE ONE)

OCCUPATION:_____

1. Professional (e.g., doctor, lawyer, teacher)
2. Business (e.g., owned small business, insurance agent)
3. Clerical (e.g., bookkeeper, secretary, postal worker)
4. Skilled manual worker (e.g., carpenter, mechanic)
5. Semi-skilled worker (e.g., machine operator, bartender)
6. Unskilled worker (e.g., laborer, domestic)
7. Other (SPECIFY)_____

8. What was the highest level of education you completed? (Circle Code) 16____

1. Graduate or professional degree
   a. Specify degree(s)
      _____
      _____
2. College graduate
3. Some college
4. High school graduate
5. 9-11 grade
6. 8th grade or less

9. After leaving school, what was your first job? 17____
(Record and Circle Code)

JOB:_____

1. Professional (e.g., doctor, lawyer, teacher)
2. Business (e.g., owned small business, insurance agent)
3. Clerical (e.g., bookkeeper, secretary, postal worker)
4. Skilled manual worker (e.g., carpenter, mechanic
5. Semi-skilled worker (e.g., machine operator, bartender)
6. Unskilled worker (e.g., laborer, domestic)

10. What was the longest job (occupation) you ever held? (Record and Circle Code) 18____

OCCUPATION:_____

1. Professional (e.g., doctor, lawyer, teacher)
2. Business (e.g., owned small business, insurance agent)
3. Clerical (e.g., bookkeeper, secretary, postal worker)
4. Skilled manual worker (e.g., carpenter, mechanic)
5. Semi-skilled worker (e.g., machine operator, bartender)
6. Unskilled worker (e.g., laborer, domestic)
7. other (SPECIFY)_____

11. What was the highest level of education completed by your spouse(s)? (Circle Code) 19____

1. Graduate or professional degree
   a. Specify degree(s)
      _____
      _____
2. College graduate
3. Some college
4. High school graduate
5. 9-11 Grade
6. 8th grade or less

12. What was your spouse's occupation? (Record and Code) 20____

OCCUPATION:_____

1. Professional (e.g., doctor, lawyer, teacher)
2. Business (e.g., owned small business, insurance agent)
3. Clerical (e.g., bookkeeper, secretary, postal worker)
4. Skilled manual worker (e.g., carpenter, mechanic)
5. Semi-skilled worker (e.g., machine operator, bartender)
6. Unskilled worker (e.g., laborer, domestic)
7. Other (SPECIFY)_____

Now, I have some questions about black leaders active during the time you were growing up.

13. Have you ever heard of W.E.B. DuBois? (Circle Code) 21____

1. Yes 2. No

IF YES, PROCEED TO QUESTION #14
IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION #24

14. What did you think of DuBois as a Black Leader? 22____

    1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Don't know

15. Was he a responsible or an irresponsible leader: (Circle Code) 23____

    1. Responsible leader 2. Irresponsible leader 3. Don't know

16. Was he an effective or an ineffective leader? (Circle Code) 24____

    1. Effective leader 2. Ineffective leader 3. Don't know

17. Did he make special efforts to help less fortunate Black People? (Circle Code) 25____

    1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

18. Did you ever see him personally? (Circle Code) 26____

    1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

IF S RESPONDS "NO" SKIP TO QUESTION #21

19. Where did you see him (Circle Code) 27____

    1. Meeting
    2. Rally
    3. On the street (Specify) _____
    4. Social gathering (Specify) _____

20. Did you meet him personally? (Circle Code) 28____

    1. Yes 2. No

21. What did Black People think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 29____

    1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

22. What, if any contributions, did he make to improve the lives of Black People? (Record and Circle Code) 30____

    1. Made contribution
    2. Did not make contribution
    3. Don't know

23. What did Whites think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 31____

    1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

24. Have you ever heard of Booker T. Washington? (Circle Code) 32____

    1. Yes 2. No

IF YES, PROCEED TO QUESTION #25
IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION #35

25. What did you think of Washington as a Black Leader? (Record and Circle Code) 33____

    1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Don't know

26. Was he a responsible or an irresponsible leader? (Circle Code) 34____

    1. Responsible leader 2. Irresponsible leader 3. Don't know

27. Was he an effective or an ineffective leader? (Circle Code) 35____

    1. Effective leader 2. Ineffective leader 3. Don't know

28. Did he make special efforts to help less fortunate Black People? (Circle Code) 36____

    1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

29. Did you ever see him personally? (Circle Code) 37____

    1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

IF S RESPONDS "NO" SKIP TO QUESTION #32

30. Where did you see him? (Circle Code) 38____

    1. Meeting 3. On the street (Specify) _____
    2. Rally 4. Social gathering (Specify) _____

31. Did you meet him personally? (Circle Code) 39____

    1. Yes 2. No

32. What did Black People think of Him? (Record and Circle Code) 40____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

33. What, if any contributions, did he make to improve the lives of Black People? (Record and Circle Code) 41____

1. Made contribution
2. Did not make contribution
3. Don't know

34. What did Whites think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 42____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

35. Have you ever heard of Marcus Garvey? (Circle Code) 43____

1. Yes 2. No

IF YES, PROCEED TO QUESTION #36
IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION #46

36. What did you think of Garvey as a Black Leader? (Record and Circle Code) 44____

1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Don't know

37. Was he a responsible or an irresponsible leader? (Circle Code) 45____

1. Responsible leader 2. Irresponsible leader 3. Don't know

38. Was he an effective or an ineffective leader? (Circle Code) 46____

1. Effective leader 2. Ineffective leader 3. Don't know

39. Did he make special efforts to help less fortunate Black People? (Circle Code) 47____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

40. Did you ever see him personally? (Circle Code) 48____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

IF S RESPONDS "NO" SKIP TO QUESTION #43

41. Where did you see him? (Circle Code) 49___

1. Meeting
2. Rally
3. On the street (Specify) _____
4. Social gathering (Specify) _____

42. Did you meet him personally? (Circle Code) 50___

1. Yes
2. No

43. What did Black People think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 51___

1. Favorable
2. Unfavorable
3. Don't know

44. What, if any contributions, did he make to improve the lives of Black People? (Record and Circle Code) 52___

1. Made contributions
2. Did not make contributions
3. Don't know

45. What did Whites think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 53___

1. Favorable
2. Unfavorable
3. Don't know

46. Which one of the three leaders (DuBois, Washington, or Garvey) did you think was most helpful to the cause of Black People? 54___ 55___

1. _____ 2. _____ 56___
3. _____

Now I have some questions about some events you might remember affecting you when you were growing up.

47. What was the racial makeup of your childhood neighborhood? 57___

1. All Black
2. Mostly Black
3. Half Black and half White
4. Mostly White
5. Other (Specify) _____

48. What was the religion in which you were brought up? 58___

1. Baptist
2. Methodist
3. Episcopal
4. Presbyterian
5. Catholic
6. Lutheran
7. A.M.E.
8. Nation of Islam
9. Other (Specify) _____

49. What is your religion now? 59____

1. Baptist
2. Methodist
3. Episcopal
4. Presbyterian
5. Catholic
6. Lutheran
7. A.M.E.
8. Nation of Islam
9. Other (Specify) _____

50. Describe your earliest memory of being discriminated against as a Black person? (Record, then ask (B) At about what age were you? Age _____ 60,61____

51. Where or how did it occur? (Record and Circle Code) 62____

1. Public accomodation
2. School
3. Being around whites

52. After the incident occurred, do you remember whether you felt: 63____

1. Mostly angry
2. Mostly sad/depressed
3. Embarrassed or ashamed
4. Had no reaction

53. Did you remember telling either of your parents about the incident? 64____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't remember

54. Which parent did you tell? 65____

1. Father
2. Mother
3. Guardian
4. Don't remember

55. What was their reaction? 66____

1. Mostly angry
2. Mostly sad/depressed
3. Anger at person
4. No reaction

56. Did your parents try to do something about it? 67____

1. If yes, describe the circumstances.

2. If no, describe the circumstances.

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

57. How did you feel after telling your mother/father? 68____

1. Better 2. Worse 3. No different

58. While you were growing up, can you describe how you felt being black? (Record and Code) 69____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

59. Around this time, what racial name did you prefer for yourself? IF S CANNOT ANSWER, GIVE THE POSSIBILITIES BELOW AND CODE 70____

71____

1. Colored
2. Negro
3. American
4. Creole
5. Interracial
6. Mulatto
7. Black
8. Afro-American
9. Other (Specify) _____

72____

73____

1. What was your 2nd choice?_____
2. What was your 3rd choice?_____
3. What was your 4th choice?_____

60. When you were growing up, did you ever become embarrassed because of some black people's behavior in public? (Circle Code) 74____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Sometimes

61. Many black people have often wished they were white or lighter than they were; did you ever feel this way? 75____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

Card 2

1-3____

4____

62. During this period did you ever wish you were darker than you were? (Record and Code) 5____

1. If yes, why 2. If no, why

63. When you were growing up, did talking about how much "white" blood you had make you feel better or worse about yourself? 6____

1. Better 2. Worse 3. No different

64. During this period did you ever wish you could marry someone lighter than yourself? (Circle) 7____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Sometimes (Specify)

65. Also during this time, or when you were a little older, say in your twenties or older, how did you feel about talking favorably about black people in front of whites? (Record and Code) 8____

1. Comfortable 2. Uncomfortable 3. Did not talk to whites

66. As an adult what did you and your friends say about whites when they were not around (Record and Code) 9____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

67. Again, while you were growing up, did you remember hearing about the NAACP? (Circle Code) 10____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't remember

68. About how old were you when you first heard about the NAACP? 11,12____

Age_____

69. Do you remember your first thoughts of the NAACP? (Record and Code) 13____

1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Don't remember

70. When you first heard of the NAACP, did you think it was a conservative, moderate or militant organization? (Circle Code) 14____

1. Conservative 2. Moderate 3. Militant

71. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the NAACP (Circle Code) 15____

1. Member now 2. Member in past 3. Not a member

IF S ANSWERS 1 or 2 IN QUESTION #71 ASK QUESTION #72

72. How old were you when you first became a member? 16,17____

Age_____

IF S ANSWERS 3 ON QUESTION #17 ASK QUESTION #73

73. Did you ever think of joining the NAACP? (Circle and Record) 18____

a. If yes, why and what age were you?
b. If not, why not?

1. Positive racial identity 3. Vague
2. Negative racial identity

74. When the organization first started, would you have guessed it would have lasted this long? (Circle Code and Record Response) 19____

a. If yes, why did you feel that way?
b. If no, why not?

1. Positive racial identity 3. Vague
2. Negative racial identity

75. In your own opinion, has the organization (NAACP) benefitted black people in any way? (Circle Code and Record Response) 20____

a. If yes, in what way?
b. If no, why not?

1. Positive racial identity 3. Vague
2. Negative racial identity

76. When you talked about the NAACP with whites, did you feel comfortable or uncomfortable? (Circle Code) 21____

1. Comfortable 3. N/A--never talked to whites about NAACP
2. Uncomfortable

77. At that time, did you think it was a good idea for black people to tell whites that they were members of the NAACP? (Circle code and record response) 22____

a. If yes, why?
b. If no, why not?

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

78. During the time you were growing up, did you think that blacks and whites should attend the same schools? (Circle code) 23____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

79. During or right after WW II, there were a number of race riots around the country (1941-1946). Do you remember anything about those riots? 24____

IF S DOES NOT MENTION HOW S/HE FELT ABOUT RIOTS IN QUESTION #79 ASK

80. What did you feel or think about the riots? (Record response and circle) 25____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

81. Did you think black soldiers were better being integrated with white soldiers? (Record and Circle Code) 26____

a. If so, why?
b. If not, why not?

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

82. Did you think integrating the armed forces was a step forward or a step backward for black people? (Record and Circle Code) 27____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

83. During the time of legal segregation in the South and racial discrimination in the North (1900-1954) did you think black people were 28____

proud of being black or "Negro"? (Circle Code)

1. Proud 2. Not proud 3. Can't answer

84. As you look back over the period when you were young and up until 1954, did you think black people were more or less proud of being black than they were during the time your parents were young? 29____

1. More proud 2. Less proud 3. Same

85. At this time did you feel more or less proud of being black than you were during the time your parents were young? 30____

1. More proud 2. Less proud 3. Same

86. During the time of legal segregation in the South and racial discrimination in the North (1900-1954) Black people had a great amount of racial pride. Would you: (Circle Code) 31____

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

87. During the period you were growing up and up until 1954, what racial name did you prefer? 32____

1. Colored
2. Negro
3. American
4. Creole
5. Interracial 33____
6. Mulatto
7. Black
8. Afro-American 34____
9. Other (Specify)

88. 1. What was your 2nd choice_____ 35____
2. What was your 3rd choice_____
3. What was your 4th choice_____

Now, I would like to ask some questions about a black leader active during the period of school desegregation.

89. Have you ever heard of Thurgood Marshall? (Circle Code) 36____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Not sure

IF S HAS NOT HEARD OF THURGOOD MARSHALL, ASK:

What black leader, you felt, was responsible for school desegregation and why?

IF S HAS HEARD OF LEADER PROCEED TO QUESTION #90.

90. What did you think of Thurgood Marshall as a black leader? (Record and Circle Code) 37____

1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Don't know

91. Was he a responsible or an irresponsible leader? (Circle Code) 38____

1. Responsible leader 2. Irresponsible leader 3. Don't know

92. Was he an effective or an ineffective leader? (Circle Code) 39____

1. Effective leader 2. Ineffective leader 3. Don't know

93. Did he make special efforts to help less fortunate Black people? (Circle Code) 40____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

94. Did you ever see him personally? (Circle Code) 41____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

IF S RESPONDS "NO" SKIP TO QUESTION #97

95. Where did you see him: (Circle Code) 42____

1. Meeting
2. Rally
3. On the street (Specify) _____
4. Social gathering (Specify) _____

96. Did you meet him personally? (Circle Code) 43____

1. Yes 2. No

97. What did Black People think of him? (Circle Code) 44____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

98. What, if any contributions, did he make to improve the lives of black people? (Record and Circle Code) 45____

1. Made contribution
2. Did not make contribution
3. Don't know

99. What did whites think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 46____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

Now, I would like to ask some questions about events and organizations you may have heard of during the period of school desegregation.

100. During the time of school desegregation from 1955-1961, did you think that school desegregation was a good idea for black children? (Record and Circle Code) 47____

a. If so, why?
b. If not, why not?

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

101. Did any of your children or grandchildren attend newly desegregated schools in the South? (Circle Code) 48____

1. Yes 2. No

102. If yes, can you describe the experience of what happened and how you felt. (Record and Code) 49____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

103. If they did not attend, would you have volunteered your child or grandchild to integrate a white school in the South? (Record and Code) 50____

a. If yes, why?
b. If not, why not?

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

104. Did you follow the news report of school desegregation on radio or TV? (Circle Code) 51____

1. Yes 2. No

105. What did you feel inside yourself as you watched the events on TV? (Circle Code) 52____

1. Mostly anger
2. Mostly sad/depressed
3. Mostly embarrased or ashamed
4. Don't know

106. What was your relationship with whites when all of this was going on? (Circle Code) 53____

1. Mostly anger
2. Mostly sad/depressed
3. Mostly embarrassed or ashamed
4. Don't know

107. What was your reaction to seeing whites protesting against desegregation on TV? (Circle Code) 54____

1. Mostly anger
2. Mostly sad/depressed
3. Mostly embarrassed or ashamed
4. Don't know

108. As you look back over this period (1954-1961), did you think black people were more or less proud of being black than they were during the time of legal segregation in the South and racial discrimination in the North (Circle Code) 55____

1. More proud 2. Less proud 3. Same

109. At this time did you feel more or less proud of being black than you were during the time of legal segregation in the South and racial discrimination in the North? (Circle Code) 56____

1. More proud 2. Less proud 3. Same

110. During or near the end of the school desegregation movement, black people had a great amount of racial pride. Would you: (Circle Code) 57____

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

Now, I am going to ask you some questions about some people active during the Civil Rights Period (1955-1965).

111. Have you ever heard of Roy Wilkins? (Circle Code) 58____

1. Yes 2. No

IF YES, PROCEED TO QUESTION #112
IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION #122

112. What did you think of Roy Wilkins as a black leader? (Record and Code) 59____

1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Don't know

113. Was he a responsible or an irresponsible leader? (Circle Code) 60____

1. Responsible leader 2. Irresponsible leader 3. Don't know

114. Was he an effective or an ineffective leader? (Circle Code) 61____

1. Effective leader 2. Ineffective leader 3. Don't know

115. Did he make special efforts to help less fortunate Black people? (Circle Code) 62____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

116. Did you ever see him personally? (Circle Code) 63____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

IF S RESPONDS "NO" SKIP TO QUESTION #119

117. Where did you see him? (Circle Code) 64____

1. Meeting
2. Rally
3. On the street (Specify) _____
4. Social gathering (Specify) _____

118. Did you meet him personally? (Circle Code) 65____

1. Yes 2. No

119. What did Black people think of him? (Circle Code) 66____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

120. What, if any contributions, did he make to improve the lives of Black people? (Record and Circle Code) 67____

1. Made contribution
2. Did not make contribution
3. Don't know

121. What did whites think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 68____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

122. What did you think of Martin Luther King Jr. as a black leader? (Record and Circle Code) 69____

1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Don't know

123. Was he a responsible or an irresponsible leader? 70___

1. Responsible leader 2. Irresponsible leader 3. Don't know

124. Was he an effective or an ineffective leader? (Circle Code) 71____

1. Effective leader 2. Ineffective leader 3. Don't know

125. Did he make special efforts to help less fortunate black people? (Circle Code) 72____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

126. Did you ever see him personally? (Circle Code) 73____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

IF S RESPONDS "NO" SKIP TO QUESTION # 129

127. Where did you see him? (Circle Code) 74____

1. Meeting 3. On the street (Specify) _____

3. Rally 4. Social gathering (Specify) _____

128. Did you meet him personally? (Circle Code) 75____

1. Yes 2. No

Card 3

1-3____

4____

129. What did Black people think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 5____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

130. What, if any contribution, did he make to improve the lives of black people? (Record and Circle Code) 5____

1. Made contribution
2. Did not make contribution
3. Don't know

131. What did whites think of him? (Record and Circle) 6____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

132. Who was, in your opinion, the most outstanding crusader for black people during the Civil Rights Movement? 7____ 8____

1. _____ 2. _____ 9____
3. _____

133. Have you ever heard of Rosa Parks? (Circle Code) 10____

1. Yes 2. No

IF "YES" ASK QUESTION #134
IF RESPONSE IS "NO", DESCRIBE ROSA PARKS AND THE INCIDENCES LEADING TO THE MONTOGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT AND IF S THEN MRS. PARKS ASK QUESTION #134.

134. How did you feel about her actions and the bus boycott that followed? (Record and Circle Code) 11____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

135. If, given her circumstances, at that time would you have done the same thing as Rosa Parks? (Circle Code) 12____

a. Yes b. No

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

136. How differently would you have preferred to accomplish the same end? 14___

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

137. During the Civil Rights Movement (1955-1965), there were several Civil Rights Organizations such as SCLC, SNCC, NAACP and CORE. Can you describe what you remember of their activities? (Record Response and Code) 15____

a. able to describe 2. Not able to describe

138. What were your first reactions to different kinds of Civil Rights demonstrations such as boycotts, sit-ins, marches and freedom rides? (Record Response and Code) 16____

1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Don't know

139. What was your first reaction to people who participated in Civil Rights demonstrations? (Record Response and Code) 17____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

140. Did you participate in any such Civil Rights activities during this period? (Code) 18____

1. Yes 2. No

141. If not and if you had the opportunity, would you have participated in such Civil Rights activites? (Circle Code) 19____

1. If "YES", describe how. 2. No

142. In spite of the dangers involved in Civil Rights demonstrations, would you have encouraged your child or grandchild to participate? (Record Response and Circle Code) 20____

a. If yes, why? b. If no, why not?

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

143. At the time the Civil Rights activities began, did you think it could help black people? (Record Response and Circle Code) 21____

a. If yes, why? b. If no, why not?

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

144. In looking back at it now, did you think the Civil Rights activities was helpful to black people? (Record Response and Circle Code) 22____

a. If yes, why? b. If no, why not?

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

145. Did your friends think the Civil Rights Movements benefitted black people? (Record Response and Circle Code) 23____

a. If yes, why? b. If not, why not?

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

146. Some black people have said that this was the time when black people were finally beginning to work together as a group. Would you agree or disagree? (Circle Code) 24____

1. Agree 2. Disagree 3. Don't know

147. As you look back over the Civil Rights Movement (1955-1967) did you think black people were more or less proud of being black than they were during the time white schools in the South were being desegregated? (Circle Code) 25____

1. More proud 2. Less proud 3. Same

148. At this time did you feel more or less proud of being black than you did when white schools were being desegregated? (Circle Code) 26____

1. More proud 2. Less proud 3. Same

149. During or near the end of the Civil Rights Movement, black people had a great amount of racial pride. Would you: (Circle Code) 27____

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

150. Toward the end of the Civil Rights Movement, what racial name did you prefer? (Circle Code) 28____

1. Colored
2. Negro
3. American
4. Creole
5. Interracial
6. Mulatto 29____
7. Black
8. Afro-American
9. Other (Specify) 30____
_____

151. What was your 2nd choice_____ 31____
What was your 3rd choice_____
What was your 4th choice_____

Now, I would like to ask questions about people active during the Black Power Movement.

152. Have you ever heard of Malcolm X? (Circle Code) 32____

1. Yes 2. No

IF "YES", PROCEED TO QUESTION #153
IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION #163

153. What did you think of Malcolm X as a Black Leader (Record and Circle) 33____

1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Don't know

154. Was he a responsible or an irresponsible leader? (Circle Code) 34____

1. Responsible leader 2. Irresponsible leader 3. Don't know

155. Was he an effective or an ineffective leader? 35____

1. Effective leader 2. Ineffective leader 3. Don't know

156. Did he make special efforts to help less fortunate Black people? (Circle Code) 36____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

157. Did you ever see him personally? (Circle Code) 37____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

IF S RESPONDS "NO" SKIP TO QUESTION #160

158. Where did you see him? (Circle Code) 38____

1. Meeting
2. Rally
3. On the street (Specify) _____
4. Social gathering (Specify) _____

159. Did you meet him personally? (Circle Code) 39____

1. Yes 2. No

160. What did Black people think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 40____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

161. What, if any contributions, did he make to improve the lives of black people? (Record and Circle Code) 41____

1. Made contribution
2. Did not make contribution
3. Don't know

162. What did whites think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 42____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

163. Have you ever heard of Stokely Carmichael? (Circle Code) 43____

1. Yes 2. No

IF YES, PROCEED TO QUESTION #164
If No, SKIP TO QUESTION #174

164. What did you think of Stokley Carmichael as a Black leader? (Record and Circle Code) 44____

1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Don't know

165. Was he a responsible or an irresponsible leader? (Circle Code) 45____

1. Responsible leader 2. Irresponsible leader 3. Don't know

166. Was he an effective or an ineffective leader? 46____

1. Effective leader 2. Ineffective leader 3. Don't know

167. Did he make special efforts to help less fortunate Black people? (Circle Code) 47____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

168. Did you ever see him personally? (Circle Code) 48____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

IF S RESPONDS " NO " SKIP TO QUESTION #171

169. Where did you see him? (Circle Code) 49____

1. Meeting 3. On the street (Specify)

2. Rally 4. Social gathering (Specify)

170. Did you meet him personally? (Circle Code) 50____

1. Yes 2. No

171. What did Black people think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 51____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

172. What, if any contribution, did he make to improve the lives of Black people? (Record and Circle Code) 52____

1. Made contribution 3. Don't know
2. Did not make contribution

173. What did whites think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 53____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

174. Have you ever heard of Floyd McKissick? (Circle Code) 54____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

IF YES, PROCEED TO QUESTION #175
IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION #185

175. What did you think of McKissick as a Black Leader? (Record and Circle Code) 55____

1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Don't know

176. Was he a responsible or an irresponsible leader? (Circle Code) 56____

1. Responsible leader 2. Irresponsible leader 3. Don't know

177. Was he an effective or an ineffective leader? (Circle Code) 57____

1. Effective leader 2. Ineffective leader 3. Don't know

178. Did he make special efforts to help less fortunate Black people? (Circle Code) 58____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

179. Did you ever see him personally? (Circle Code) 59____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

IF S RESPONDS "NO" SKIP TO QUESTION #182

180. Where did you see him? (Circle Code) 60____

1. Meeting
2. Rally
3. On the street (specify) _____
4. Social gathering (specify) _____

181. Did you meet him personally? (Circle Code) 61____

1. Yes 2. No.

182. What did Black people think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 62____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

183. What, if any contribution, did he make to improve the lives of Black people? (Record and Circle Code) 63____

1. Made contribution
2. Did not make contribution
3. Don't know

184. What did whites think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 64____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

185. Which one of the three leaders (Malcolm X, Stokley Carmichael or Floyd McKissick) did you think was more helpful to the cause of Black people and why? 65____ 66____ 67____

1. _____ 2. _____
3. _____

Now, I have some questions about some events that occurred during the Black Power Movement (1966-1970).

187. In the early to middle 1960's when the Black 68____

Power Movement was first getting started who among the following individuals made the greatest contribution to the black cause; who made the next greatest contribution: 69____

1. Malcolm X	Black Muslim	a._____	70____
2. Stokely Carmichael	SNCC	b._____	
3. Roy Innis	CORE	c._____	
4. Adam Clayton Powell	Congressman	d._____	71____

187. How did you react to the bombing of the Baptist church in Montgomery Alambama in 1966 in which some children were killed? (Code) 72____

1. Mostly angry 2. Mostly sad/depressed 3. No reaction

188. What was your reaction to the riots in various large cities during the middle 1960's? (Record and Code) 73____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

189. Did you feel that the individuals participating in the riots were justified? (Circle Code and Record) 74____

a. If so, why? b. Is not, why not?

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

190. Some black people have said that the riots in the middle 1960s were beneficial to black people because it made them feel better about themselves. Would you agree or disagree? (Code) 75____

1. Agree 2. Disagree

Card 4

1-3____

4____

191. Some people thought the repimand of Adam Clayton Powell was a plot by some whites in Congress to get rid of him. Would you agree or disagree? 5____

1. Agree 2. Disagree

192. As a result of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, did you feel that the Civil Rights Movement was dead? (Circle Code) 6____

1. Yes 2. No

193. In looking back over the time since Martin Luther King's assassination, do you now feel that black people have continued to make significant progress? 7____

a. If so, why? b. If not, why not?

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

194. Some people have said that after Martin Luther King's assassination, black people started getting together more as a group than ever. Would you agree or disagree? (Code) 8____

1. Agree 2. Disagree

195. What was our first reaction to some black people calling themselves "black"? (Record and Code) 9____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

196. What was your first reaction to seeing some Black people wearing "afros" (Record and Code) 10____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

197. Have your feelings about Afro hairdos changed since your first reaction? (Record and Code) 11____

a. Changed, why? b. Unchanged, why?

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

198. As you look back over the period when black power started, do you now think black people were more or less proud of being black than they were during the time of the Civil Rights Movement? (Code) 12____

1. More proud 2. Less proud 3. No change

199. At the time did you feel more or less proud of being black than you were during the time of the Civil Rights Movement? (Code) 13____

1. More proud 2. Less proud 3. No change

200. During the time when the term "Black Power" was frequently used (1966-1970) black people had a great amount of Racial pride. Would you: 14____

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

201. At that time, what racial name did you prefer to be called? 15____

1. Colored
2. Negro
3. American
4. Creole
5. Interracial
6. Mulatto 16____
7. Black
8. Afro-American
9. Other (Specify) 17____
_____

202. 1. What was your 2nd choice_____ 18____
2. What was your 3rd choice_____
3. What was your 4th choice_____

Now, I am going to ask you some questions about some black people who were active during the time of the black nationalist movement of the 1970s.

203. Have you ever heard of the Honorable Elijah Muhammed? (Circle Code) 19____

IF YES, PROCEED TO QUESTION #204
IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION #214

204. What did you think of the Hon. Elijah Muhammed as a black leader? (Record and Circle Code) 20____

1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Don't know

205. Was he a responsible or an irresponsible leader? (Circle Code) 21____

1. Responsible leader 2. Irresponsible leader 3. Don't know

206. Was he an effective or an ineffective leader? (Circle Code) 22____

1. Effective leader 2. Ineffective leader 3. Don't know

207. Did he make special efforts to help less fortunate black people? (Circle Code) 23____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

208. Did you ever see him personally? (Circle Code) 24____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

IF "NO" SKIP TO QUESTION #211

209. Where did you see him? (Circle Code) 25____

1. Meeting
2. Rally
3. On the street (Specify) _____
4. Social gathering (Specify) _____

210. Did you meet him personally? (Circle Code) 26____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

211. What did Black people think of him? (Circle Code and Record) 27____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

212. What, if any contributions, did he make to improve the lives of Black people? (Record and Circle Code) 28____

1. Made contribution
2. Did not make contribution
3. Don't know

213. What did whites think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 29____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

214. Have you ever heard of Huey P. Newton? (Circle Code) 30____

1. Yes 2. No

IF YES, PROCEED TO QUESTION #215
IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION #225

215. What did you think of Huey P. Newton as a black leader? (Record and Circle Code) 31____

1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Don't know

216. Was he a responsible or an irresponsible leader? (Circle Code) 32____

1. Responsible leader 2. Irresponsible leader 3. Don't know

217. Was he an effective or an ineffective leader? (Circle Code) 33____

1. Effective leader 2. Ineffective leader 3. Don't know

218. Did he make special efforts to help less fortunate Black people? (Code) 34____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

219. Did you ever see him personally? (Circle Code) 35____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

IF "NO" SKIP TO QUESTION # 222

220. Where did you see him? (Circle Code) 36____

1. Meeting
2. Rally
3. On the street (Specify) _____
4. Social gathering (Specify) _____

221. Did you meet him personally? (Circle Code) 37____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

222. What did Black people think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 38____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

223. What, if any contributions, did he make to improve the lives of Black people? 39____

1. Made contribution
2. Did not make contribution
3. Don't know

224. What did whites think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 40____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

225. Have you ever heard of Rev. Jesse Jackson? (Circle Code) 41____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

IF YES, PROCEED TO QUESTION #226
IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION #236

226. What did you think of Rev. Jesse Jackson as a Black Leader? (Record and Circle Code) 42____

1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Don't know

227. Was he a responsible or irresponsible leader? (Circle Code) 43____

1. Responsible leader 2. Irresponsible leader 3. Don't know

228. Was he an effective or ineffective leader? (Circle Code) 44____

1. Effective leader 2. Ineffective leader 3. Don't know

229. Did he make special efforts to help less fortunate black people? (Circle) 45____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

230. Did you ever see him personally? (Circle Code) 46____

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

IF "NO" SKIP TO QUESTION # 233

231. Where did you see him? (Circle Code) 47____

1. Meeting
2. Rally
3. On the street (Specify) _____
4. Social gathering (Specify) _____

232. Did you meet him personally? (Circle Code) 48____

1. Yes 2. No

233. What did Black people think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 49____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

234. What, if any, contribution did he make to improve the lives of Black people? (Record and Circle Code) 50____

1. Made contribution
2. Did not make contribution
3. Don't know

235. What did whites think of him? (Record and Circle Code) 51____

1. Favorable 2. Unfavorable 3. Don't know

236. Which one of the three leaders (Elijah Muhammed, Huey P. Newton or Rev. Jesse Jackson) did you think was most helpful to the cause of Black people and why? Who was the next most helpful leader? (Record and Code) 52____ 53____ 54____

1. _____ 2. _____
3. _____

Now, I have some questions about events that occurred in the 1970s.

237. What was your first reaction to the Black Panther Party? (Record and Code) 55____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

238. Did you feel that they had helped Black people in any way? (Record and Code) 56____

a. If yes, in what way? b. If not, why not?

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

239. Some people now believe that white racism is still alive and that all people should be armed at home for protection. Would you agree or disagree (Code) 57____

1. Agree 2. Disagree

240. Recent news media has reported the increased activities of the Klu Klux Klan. What was your first reaction upon hearing this? (Record and Code) 58____

1. Anger 2. Sad and depressed 3. No reaction

241. What do you think Black people living in Klu Klux Klan controlled territories should do? (Record and Code) 59____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

242. What event in history would you say was most in developing Black pride among Black people? (Record and code) 60____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

243. Have your attitudes toward whites changed over the few years? (Record and Code) 61____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

244. As you look back over the period of Black Nationalism or the events of the 1970s, do you think Black people are now more or less proud of being Black than they were in the latter 1960s when the concept of black power started? (Code) 62____

1. More proud 2. Less proud 3. Same

245. At this time do you feel more or less proud of being Black than you were in the later 1960s when the concept of Black power first started? (Code) 63____

1. More proud 2. Less proud 3. Same

246. Some people are now saying that Black people have a greater sense of pride in themselves in being black than ever. Would you: 64____

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

247. Some people have said that if they had their lives to live over again, they would prefer to be white. How do you feel about this? (Record and Code) 65____

a. If so, why? b. If not, why not?

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

248. Some people feel that black people will never really achieve true freedom until all Black people begin to fight racism together as a group. Would you agree or disagree? (Record and Code) 66____

a. If agree, why? b. If disagree, why?

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

249. Now that you have lived through and have personally experienced history, what advice would you give today's black youth? (Record and Code) 67____

1. Positive racial identity
2. Negative racial identity
3. Vague

250. Negroidness Scale 68____

Skin Color	Physical Features	
		69____
1.	1.	
2.	2.	
3.	3.	70,71____
4.	4.	
5.	5.	

SC____ + PF____ = Negroidness_____